

SURVEILLANCE STATE • COVERAGE BEGINS P4

THE INDYPENDENT

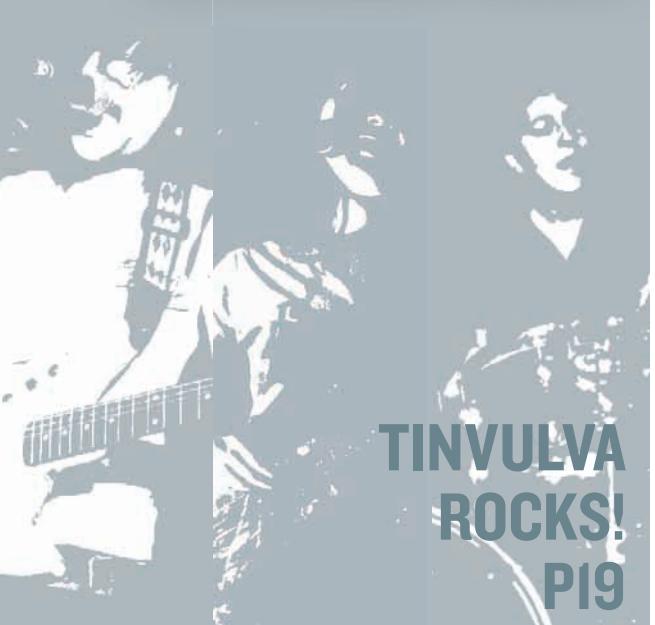
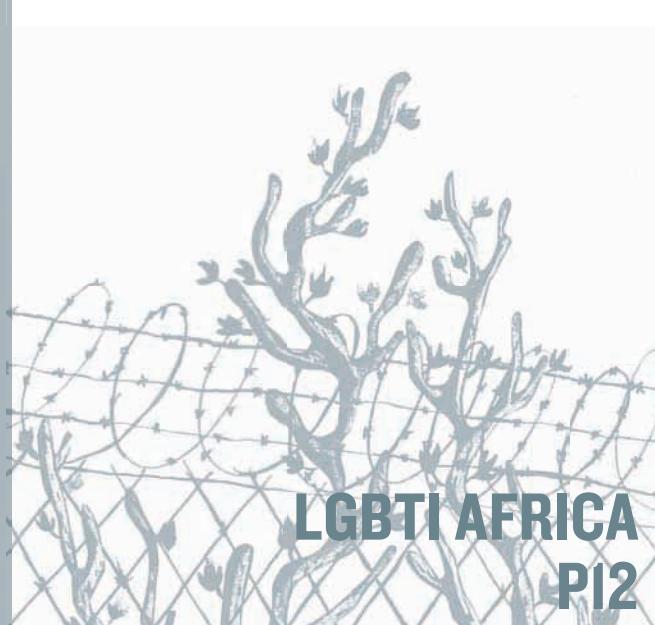
Issue #188, July 18–August 17, 2013
A FREE PAPER FOR FREE PEOPLE

Targeted from Birth

HOW THE GROWING EMPHASIS ON PRECRIME
IS MAKING DISCRIMINATION WORSE

By Nicholas Powers

BETH WHITNEY





THE INDYPENDENT



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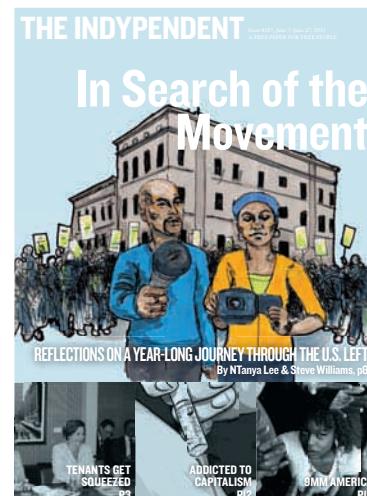
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The Indypendent is a New York-based free newspaper published 13 times a year on Mondays for our print and online audience of more than 100,000 readers. It is produced by a network of volunteers who report, write, edit, draw, design, take photos, distribute, fundraise and provide website management. Since 2000, more than 700 journalists, artists and media activists have participated in this project. Winner of more than 50 New York Community Media Alliance awards, *The Indypendent* is funded by subscriptions, reader donations, merchandise sales, benefits and advertising. We accept submissions that look at news and culture through a critical lens, exploring how systems of power — economic, political and social — affect the lives of people locally and globally. *The Indypendent* reserves the right to edit articles for length, content and clarity.

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the reader's voice



ILLUMINATING...BRILLIANT...INSPIRING

I read the June edition of *The Indypendent* from cover to back page and I just want to commend the Indy team for a beautiful product, chock-full of illuminating facts, brilliant reportage and inspiring left analyses.

I thought the centerfold spread ("Within Our Reach: Examples of How to Create a Just and Healthy Society Are All Around Us") was very well laid out, integrating progressive achievements across the globe with attractive graphics and proper choice of color. I particularly enjoyed reading the piece "Society of Addiction" by Nicholas Powers. I was struck by his talent to fuse a solid Marxist analysis of corporate capitalism and the capitalist state with humor, satire, wit and sharp perceptions of how today's popular culture is commodified in many different ways.

Venceremos,
— DON ROJAS

Responses to "Society of Addiction," June 7:

"Great article. I was busted — not over Krispy Kreme, but "sugar, fat and..." I would add alcohol and caffeine. That first cuppa joe — with sugar and half 'n half — is "like Jesus kissing my brain." And then there's my Crackberry. Thank you, Nicholas Powers and *The Indypendent*.

— LESLEE GOODMAN

Nice article, just scratches the surface, consumer addiction is eating the planet, destroying social institutions, de-evolving the mind... awareness is the first step...

— BILLY KING

Responses to "39 Exciting Ideas for the Left," June 7:

You don't prioritize feminism like racism and act as if it's only about social relations, not militarism, gun violence, etc.

— ROSALYNN BAXENDALL

Very Good Job Guys! I particularly like the one about getting youth and artists involved.

— ED WILLARD

This is a very clear and honest assessment of where we are. Can you name a few organizations that fit the non-sectarian broad-based that this list outlines. I feel that we are so fragmented that it seems almost insurmountable.

— MICHAEL WHITEHEAD

Responses to "Marching for Bradley Manning," June 7:

Well done. The more we hear about personal testimony from veterans, the more credibility we render to whistleblowers such as Bradley Manning, and now, Edward Snowden. Free Bradley! Pardon Edward!

— Will Thomas

As a Veteran for Peace from Asheville, North Carolina, I was very proud to be at the June 1 rally for Bradley Manning in Fort Meade, Maryland in the company of heroes like Daniel Ellsberg, Medea Benjamin, Lt. Choi and so many others who are the current prophets and holy people of today. I love the youth and others who are in uniform; I detest those who send them to their death and physical and mental anguish.

— JOHN SPITZBERG

Response to "Homophobia Is Everywhere," June 7:

Although homophobic or transphobic attacks are never the fault of the victim or by any means "preventable" by simply trying to blend in, in the instance you describe in the subway it was your responsibility to respond to this woman's attack on the youth you were in charge of supervising. Instead of tearing up, you should have torn into her. You had no reasonable belief this woman could cause physical harm to you or the people in your care, so you should have stepped up to the plate and verbally confronted this bigot. I'm not saying you should argue with every crazy person that crosses

your path, but you should at the very least stand up for yourself in those instances to be a role model for the youth you're mentoring. They should have enough self-esteem not to be the brunt of this woman's ire.

— ROBERT VANKIRK

A few years ago my ex and I went into our neighborhood to drink a beer. Nothing that we didn't normally do. Then the owner came over to us and pulled my ex sitting on the barstool clear across the bar and said, "This isn't your kind of bar." We were only talking; not even holding hands, just talking. Another time she and I went in and were joking with him. I guess we went too far with joking and he pulled his gun out from under the bar, pointed it at us and very nastily said, "You lesbians get the fuck out my bar. Your kind isn't welcome here."

— BJ

COMMENT ON THE NEWS AT WWW.INDYPENDENT.ORG; OR SEND A LETTER TO THE INDYPENDENT/666 BROADWAY, SUITE 510/NEW YORK, NY 10012 OR EMAIL LETTERS@INDYPENDENT.ORG. WE RESERVE THE RIGHT TO EDIT FOR LENGTH AND CLARITY.

WE HEARD YOU!

A number of readers have told us that the text in *The Indypendent* is difficult to read. We have adjusted the text formatting, which should make for an easier, more enjoyable reading experience.



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community calendar

JULY-AUG



DANCE PARTY: Brooklyn-based rara band DJA-RARA will be tearing it up in Prospect Park every weekend this summer.

EVERY SUNDAY

Evening • Free
MUSIC: HAITIAN RARA PROCESSION. Watch the only sustained Rara band in America, DJA-RARA, perform Haitian protest music in Brooklyn any Sunday this summer. Rara, "part-carnival, part-social protest, part-vodou ceremony, [is] one of the most breathtaking and contested music forms in the Americas," writes the *Honk! Festival for Activist Street Bands* blog. Rara is done on the move, so join in the procession as night falls and enjoy a musical jaunt through the park.
 Prospect Park
honkfest.org/bands/dja-rara

SAT JULY 20

10am–6pm • Free
FESTIVAL: HARLEM BOOK FAIR. Celebrate the 15th year of the Harlem Book Fair, the nation's largest African American book festival, by attending readings, discussions, musical performances, workshops, and more.
 W 135th St and Malcolm X Blvd
 914-231-6778 • harlembbookfair.com

SAT JULY 20

12–5pm • Free
EVENT: NEW MUSEUM BLOCK PARTY. Come enjoy art, performances and free gallery tours with the New Museum. All attendees receive complimentary admission to the New Museum on the day of the party.
 Sara D. Roosevelt Park
 Btw Canal and E Houston St at Chrystie St
 212-343-0460 • newmuseum.org

SAT JULY 20

1pm • \$20
WALKING TOUR: ACTIVIST EAST HARLEM. Learn about activism through the years in East Harlem on this guided walking tour. The tour will feature the Young Women's Leadership School and the First Spanish Methodist Church, amongst other politically relevant sites.
 Museum of the City of New York
 1220 5th Ave
 917-492-3395 • mcny.org

SUN JULY 21

11am–12pm • Free
WORKSHOP: GOTHAM WRITERS' WORK-

SHOP ON ARTICLE WRITING. Learn a thing or two about article writing from Jennifer Armstrong, founder and editor of the website *Sexy Feminist* and former magazine writer. The workshop will be held at the Housing Works Bookshop Cafe, run by an organization by the same name that serves the HIV/AIDS and homeless community.
 126 Crosby St
 347-473-7400 • housingworks.org

SUN JULY 21 & 28

2–4pm • Free
COMEDY: LAUGHTER IN THE PARK. Enjoy summer with some laughs and sunshine at New York City's only free outdoor comedy series the last two Sundays of July. The event is run by NYLaughs, an arts non-profit working to make comedy accessible to all NYC residents, not just those able to shell out for club tickets.
 July 21 Washington Sq Park
 July 28 Central Park, Mineral Spring Pavilion at 69th St
laughterinthepark.org

TUE JULY 23

4–7pm • Free
RALLY: ABORTION ON DEMAND AND WITHOUT APOLOGY. Join reproductive rights activists in Union Square to kick off the abortion freedom rider campaign. Abortion activists will travel across the country to protest assaults of women's rights. Help give them a joyous send-off with live music and a speak out.
 Union Sq
stoppatriarchy.org

TUE JULY 23

6pm • Free
EVENT: ACTIVIST SELF CARE. Learn how to manage and prevent activist burnout with others from the NYC activist community. This talk is presented by the National Organization for Women.
 NOW-NYC Office
 150 W 28th St
 212-627-9895 • nownyc.org

WED JULY 24

7pm • \$35, Premium tickets \$100
READING: HIDDEN LIVES, HUMAN POSSIBILITIES AUTHOR SERIES. Haitian writer

Edwidge Danticat will speak at Revolution Books as a part of their author series to save the store. Danticat is the author of *The Dew Breaker*, *The Immigrant Artist at Work*, and *The Farming of Bones*. She will lead a discussion and read from her new novel *Claire of Sea Light*.

146 W 26th Street
 212-691-3345 • revolutionbooksnyc.org

WED JULY 24

7:30pm • Sliding scale \$6/\$10/\$15
BOOK PARTY: THE POORER NATIONS: A POSSIBLE HISTORY OF THE GLOBAL SOUTH. In his landmark work *The Darker Nations*, Vijay Prashad tells the story of the rise and fall of the Non-Aligned Movement that seem poised during the 1970s to transform global politics. In his new work, *The Poorer Nations*, Prashad examines the impact of neoliberalism across the Global South and the resistance movements it has sparked.
 451 West Street
 212-242-4201 • brechtforum.org

FRI JULY 26–SUN JULY 28

9am–5:30pm • Sliding scale \$60/\$75/\$90
WORKSHOP: THREE-DAY INTENSIVE INTRO TO MARXISM. Through lectures, readings and lively discussion, in an open-minded environment, participants in the Brecht Forum's annual Summer Intensive will be introduced to Karl Marx's revolutionary critique of capitalism — not to find a ready-made blueprint for change, nor a dogma that excludes other traditions, but for tools of analysis that can provide answers that can help us to think more strategically and act more effectively.
 451 West Street
 212-242-4201 • brechtforum.org

FRI JULY 26

7pm • Free
EVENT: CRITICAL MASS MANHATTAN. Join hundreds of cyclists in this monthly Critical Mass bike ride. Make new friends and promote clean forms of transportation for other NYC residents.
 Meet up at Union Sq North
 212-802-8222 • times-up.org

SAT JULY 27

7pm • Free

READING: ADAM KRAUSE, *THE REVOLUTION WILL BE HILARIOUS*. Author Adam Krause will discuss how comedy, social change and humor are all closely related. Explore how comedy can create a kinder and gentler future.

Bluestockings Bookstore
 172 Allen St
 212-777-6028 • bluestockings.com

SAT JULY 27–SUN JULY 28

11–5pm • Free
EVENT: ANNUAL NYC POETRY FESTIVAL. Join the Poetry Society of New York to celebrate NYC's vibrant poetry community. The event features 50 poetry organizations, 200 poets and food and beverage vendors.
 Governors Island
 Colonel's Row
poetrysocietyny.org

SAT JULY 27

2:30–3:30pm • Free
WALK: SENECA VILLAGE. Learn the history of one of Manhattan's first African-American property owning communities who inhabited Seneca Village. The plot of land is now nestled within Central Park. This walking tour is sponsored by the Central Park Conservancy.
 Central Park West at 85th St
nycgovparks.org

TUES JULY 30

7–9pm • Suggested \$5 donation
POETRY: WOMEN'S TRANS' POETRY JAM & OPEN MIC. Hosted by Vittoria Repetto and featuring writers Deirdre Sinnott & Elina Shnayderman, this poetry jam and open mic invites you to deliver up to 8 minutes of poetry, prose, songs and spoken word. Or just enjoy a night of art at Bluestockings.
 172 Allen St
 212-777-6028 • bluestockings.com

SAT AUG 3

1:30pm–3pm • Free
MARCH: HIROSHIMA DAY COMMEMORATION. Members of the Interfaith Peace Coalition of Bay Ridge will remember Hiroshima victims. After a solemn march to 4th Ave and Shore Rd. there will be a silent vigil.
 Meet btw 96th and 97th St at 4th Ave, Bklyn
 718-680-2981 • panys.org/BR



ON THE BIG SCREEN: Sally Field as Norma Rae at Bryant Park on Aug. 5.

MON AUG 5

8pm • Free
MOVIE: *NORMA RAE*. Monday nights at Bryant Park in the summer offer the chance to watch classic movies on a giant outdoor screen. On Aug. 5, it's Sally Field in her classic role as Norma Rae, a minimum wage textile worker who battles her bosses to

get a union in her North Carolina factory. The Bryant Park lawn opens at 5pm while the movie starts at dark, so bring a blanket, some friends and a picnic basket full of food to nosh on.

42nd and 6th Ave
bryantpark.org/plan-your-visit/filmfestival.html

WED AUG 7

2:30pm • Free
EVENT: DEATH CAFÉ. This is a discussion presented by the New York Society for Ethical Culture. Join others in exploring ideas surrounding death and making the most of our finite mortal lives. Moderated by Barbara Simpson.
 NYSEC
 2 W 64th St
 212-874-5210 • nysec.org

SAT AUG 10

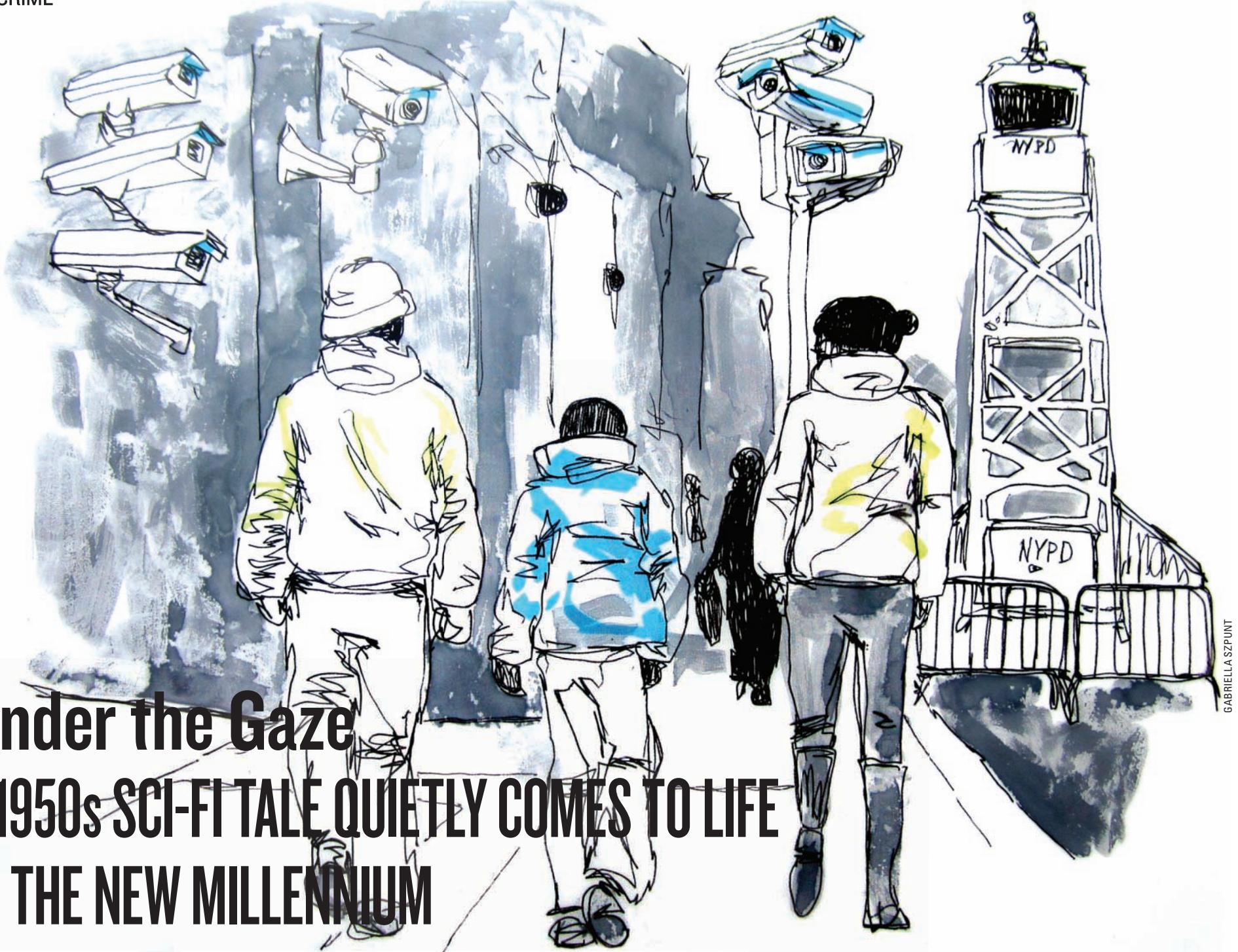
7–11am • Free
TRAINING: CLINIC ESCORTING. Stand up to protesters who intimidate women from accessing health care outside of women's health clinics in NYC. Volunteers needed to escort women into clinics and provide pro-choice support. Training will be provided. Registration is mandatory.
 NOW-NYC Office
 150 W 28th St
 212-627-9895 • nownyc.org

MON AUG 12

7pm • Free
READING: SHORT STORIES BY NEW YORK WRITERS. Hear short stories by authors from around the New York City area. Readings include *Roman Holiday* by Edith Wharton and *The Furnished Room* by O. Henry.
 Mid-Manhattan Library
 455 5th Ave
 212-340-0863 • nypl.org

SUN AUG 18

11–1pm • \$5
WORKSHOP: INDOOR COMPOSTING. Learn how to use worms to turn kitchen scraps into fertilizer and reduce your carbon footprint. In this hands-on workshop, the NYC Compost Workshop in Manhattan demonstrates how to set up and maintain an indoor worm bin. Registration required.
 Lower East Side Ecology Center



GABRIELLA SZPUNT

Under the Gaze A 1950s SCI-FI TALE QUIETLY COMES TO LIFE IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM

BY NICHOLAS POWERS

June 2011 — Five men got into a car. Akram Shah, a pharmacist, picked up his cousin Sherzada, a student; Atiq-ur-Rehman, another pharmacist; Ishrad Khan, a teenager; and Umar Khan, an auto mechanic. As they drove to a nearby village, the hiss of U.S. drone missiles filled the air. Explosions rocked the road. One hit the car and charred the men alive.

May 2011 — NYPD officers ordered Nicholas Peart, a 23-year-old Black college student against the wall. It was the fifth time in his life he'd been stopped and frisked. They took his cellphone, keys and wallet, then handcuffed him and put him in the back-seat. Later they released him.

Summer 2010 — Alfred Carpenter was laid off in the Great Recession; he tore his knee and was out of work for a year. When he looked again for a job, even with six years of experience in his field, no one hired him. He told his friend of the mess his finances were in, he responded, "Oh, you got bad credit? They'll never hire you."

Corpses in a burning car, a man roughed up by cops, another denied work are scenes of Precrime — state and corporate strategies meant to deter crime or profit loss before it even happens. It's enough to be part of a group — a Muslim man in Pakistan's tribal areas, an urban Black male or a low credit score applicant to be identified as the source of trouble and targeted.

Precrime is a term created by Philip K. Dick in his 1956 short story *Minority Report*, made into a 2002 movie of the same name. In it a trio of "precogs," or mutant humans, float in a water tank seeing visions of future violence. After recording these dreams, the Precrime Division's paramilitary cops arrest people before they commit the crime.

Today the role of the "precogs" is being played by computer software that uses data mining to map social networks, purchasing behavior and movement patterns to predict who will commit acts of terrorism, local crime or job negligence. And the film's Precrime cops are in reality the military, police and employers who use physical force and legal discrimination to secure the future of the state and corporate profits.

ONLINE, EVERYONE'S GUILTY

If you have any online life, you leave a digital trail. Send an e-mail, make a call, Google porn, swipe a credit card or open a Facebook account and it will be recorded. The information being data mined allows behavioral patterns to be extracted and character profiles to be compiled. And it is being done every second by corporations, political campaigns and government divisions like the National Security Agency.

When Edward Snowden, a former contractor for the NSA, leaked documents to *The Guardian* newspaper, it exposed government data mining. In much the same way as universal gun registration terrified the Right, digital surveillance sent shudders through the Left. We saw in it the FBI tactics used against the anti-Vietnam War move-

ment. We know elders who were hounded by COINTEL. We remember our own uneasy sleep under the police watchtowers at Occupy Wall Street.

The difference between past and present state surveillance is that today's federal and local law enforcement can use data mining of social network sites to disrupt protests before they form. Or if another terrorist attack shocks the nation or we go through a digital McCarthy era, the totality of our online lives can be used as evidence against us. Most importantly, innocence is no longer a state of being one can lose through an action but is instead a transition point on a life trajectory predicted by computer programs.

Beyond political organizations are the nine million people who lost their jobs from 2008's Wall Street Crash who are now part of the 22 million underemployed and the 50 million in poverty. Employers are scanning Facebook pages, criminal records and credit scores to sift applicants. The longer someone is unemployed and the poorer one is, the more likely that person is to run up bad debt or get into legal trouble, which will show up in their digital trail. When they apply for jobs, the past is used against them. They leave the job interview, condemned to generational poverty because of their online profile.

The logic of empire, the logic of Jim Crow and the logic of class war structure the data mining strategies of governments and corporations. The predictive policing by law enforcement and drug testing, background checks and credit checks by corporations recreate the status quo of a hierarchical America teetering on the edge.

SIGNATURE STRIKES

March 17, 2011 — Some forty men gathered at a bus depot in Datta Khel, Pakistan for a tribal meeting called a jirga. Drones circled the sky, but they had told the local Pakistani military about the meeting and thus weren't afraid. They were just there to settle a dispute over a mine. After settling in, a hissing sound filled their ears. An explosion blew them apart. The U.S. drone fired another missile, then another.

Afterward, the shocked survivors scooped up the remains. The tally of the dead was forty-two. Most were government employees or tribal leaders, according to The Bureau of Investigative Journalism's report, "Living Under Drones." Only four were Taliban. Witness Idriss Farid said, "They were pieces — body pieces — lying around."

In the rough tribal areas, the sky is a source of terror. According to the report, from June 2004 to September 2012 "drone strikes killed 2,562–3,325 people in Pakistan, of whom 474–881 were civilians, including 176 children."

Under President Bush most were "personality strikes" on named, high-value targets linked to non-state terrorist organizations. Under President Obama the spectrum of targets was expanded to include "signature strikes," attacks based on "pattern of life" analysis" that targets "groups of men who bear certain signatures, or defining characteristics associated with terrorist activity, but whose identities aren't known."

If you are an adult male in Pakistan's tribal areas, you are a suspect. If you carry a gun, go to a wedding or meeting and members of the Taliban are there, you are now by associ-

ation a viable target. Your name, social networks and movements will enter the Disposition Matrix database. It is a program run by the National Counterterrorism Center, described by Glen Miller in *The Washington Post* as "a single, continually evolving database" that includes "biographies, locations, known associates and affiliated organizations" and "strategies for taking targets down." But, according to NBC News, from 2010 to 2011 the CIA could not confirm the identity of a quarter of those killed by drone strikes. Here is the foreign face of Precrime.

PREDICTIVE POLICING

"What's the difference whether the drone is up in the air or on the building," Mayor Michael Bloomberg said on the John Gambling radio show. "You're gonna have face-recognition software ... You can't keep the tides from coming in. We're going to have more visibility and less privacy. I don't see how you stop that."

Drones the size of small planes like the Houston Police Department's ScanEagle or drones the size of hummingbirds could fly through the city. Hovering near windows they could have night vision, zoom lenses, see-through imaging and face recognition software. Domestic drones have already joined wiretapping, street cameras and web surveillance in the arsenal of law enforcement. But what will be done with this information? As police departments are flooded with data, private corporations such as SAS Institute are pitching them programs to analyze it. In their white paper, "Twitter and Facebook Analysis; It's Not Just for Marketing Anymore," SAS offers police the ability to gain entry into accounts, discover relationships, map social networks and collect individuals' data.

Some programs aren't just to find current crime but instead predict future crime waves, much like weather forecasts. Current models like CompStat in New York rely on compiling data and, based on it, patrolling where crime has happened. Using PredPol, a program created initially to predict earthquake aftershocks, police will be sent to where crime will happen.

And it works. San Diego, Seattle and Columbia, South Carolina are using PredPol and have seen burglary rates drop. But the website PrivacySOS makes the argument that predictive policing keeps in place the status quo of inequality. One example is that whites, Latinos and blacks smoke marijuana at roughly the same rate. But minorities are arrested nearly three times the rate of whites. Based on this data, predictive policing will come down harder on neighborhoods of color, justifying the cops' presence with the language of math.

According to PrivacySOS, predictive policing just recreates "the feedback loop of injustice," in which urban men of color are stopped and frisked incessantly. It's a form of public shaming and punishment to be thrown against a wall and groped by cops. It's the face of domestic Precrime that Mayor Bloomberg endorses.

"I think, we disproportionately stop whites too much and minorities too little," he said to the *New York Daily News*. "I don't know where they went to school, but they certainly didn't take a math course, or a logic course."

CLASS WARFARE

"He asked for my Facebook password," my mom said. My eyebrows lifted. "Did you give it to him?" I asked.

"No," she said. She had told the employer that she deactivated her account. It seemed odd, but asking around, I heard friends say that background checks, drug tests and credit score checks were normal practice. And sometimes, they cost people a chance at life. On March 4, Blake Ellis wrote in *CNN Money* that one in four Americans go through a credit check for a job and one in ten are denied a job because of it.

Blacks and Latinos are more held back by this due to the deeply entrenched unemployment that pummels their credit scores. In June 2013, the African-American unemployment rate was 13.7 percent, Latinos 9.1 percent and whites 6.6 percent. So the members of communities hit hardest by unemployment have the hardest time getting a job. According to Ellis, citing a survey by the Society of Human Resources, companies screen credit scores to prevent theft, embezzlement or "negligent hiring."

Low credit score applicants are not being punished for wrongs they did but ones they are expected to. And this is layered on older forms of institutional prejudice. In 2009, *The New York Times* reported on Black job applicants 'whitening' their résumés by changing their names, removing historically black colleges and selecting white references. Before doing so they did not get calls back for an interview.

Here is the face of corporate Precrime. And, while those who are poor are poor for so long that they can't find a way into the workforce, Microsoft recently came up with a way to avoid them and their neighborhoods. In 2012, it issued a patent for an application that gives 'walking directions.' One of its features is computing the crime statistics of an area and directing the user around the bad neighborhoods. So, if they are ignored long enough, they just disappear.

REVERSING THE DYNAMIC

What happens when all the networks are connected? When drug tests, Facebook and credit scores, drone footage, e-mail and Google history, and buying and movement patterns are integrated into a single profile for each citizen that is monitored by corporations and government? Will those with progressive politics or anti-authoritarian temperaments be tracked?

The more important question is how being watched and threatened with Precrime punishment changes our behavior. Even as cameras track us and each keystroke is recorded, it's the heavy feeling of judgment that kills us internally. And we've been through this before. In the racial paranoia of Jim Crow, the political fever of McCarthyism, the shame of poverty in today's Great Recession, it's the social ideal, the light by which we measure ourselves that casts a long shadow into our lives.

How do we cure ourselves of fear? How do we roll back the practice of Precrime? A recurring lesson of social movements is that we must reverse the surveillance dynamic. Whether it's sitting at segregated lunch counters, confronting pharmaceutical bureaucrats with H.I.V. victims or hauling sofas in front of Bank of America to make vis-

ible the foreclosure crisis, the goal of activists is to pierce the social distance between the privileged and the invisible victims of their power.

We on the Left create scenes of moral crisis by making pain visible. In doing so, those who suffered silently can create community and take meaningful action. And the action becomes a social mirror where the ruling class itself is seen as a criminal enterprise.

A LEFTIST SUPERCOMPUTER

In the film *Minority Report*, the plot turns on the possibility of the Precrime program going national. But it has one flaw. If someone knows the future, they can change it. At the climax, agent John Anderton confronts Lamar Burgess, the director of the Precrime Division who murdered people to keep this truth from going public. Standing, gun in hand, he is predicted to kill Anderton. If he does, the program is sound. If he doesn't, the program is illegitimate and it ends. Burgess turns the gun on himself and shoots.

The film pivots on the idea that the future — the final outcome of our actions — is not determined if we see the consequences of our present. It is a choice denied to the millions caught in poverty, in war zones and in the social constructs of ethnic, gender or class categories. There, life feels like being caught in a flow of events one cannot control. There, life ends where the increasingly sophisticated programs predict it will, in death, jail or misery.

But like in *Minority Report*, we can change our future by not just following the predictions of the next crime but understanding that its source is often a larger, invisible, systemic crime. It's the basic divide between the Left and the Right. The Right sees social institutions as innately valuable for continuity and accepts hierarchy and inequality. We, the Left, see social hierarchy as innately destructive.

So what if we made a film called *Majority Report*, about a Leftist supercomputer named Lenin? In it, technicians in white suits would say that it is programmed to save the earth, end poverty and create the Good Life. Unlike predictive policing, it wouldn't target future crime but tally the world's data and solve the very source of crime.

Tall as a cathedral, it would hum with immense electricity as people around the world wait to hear what it said. In the film, drones would be reprogrammed to buzz the offices of Goldman Sachs. Police would receive orders on their phones to arrest Wall Street traders. Planned Parenthood clinics would find their checking accounts flush with cash. The wealthy would receive e-mails announcing new high taxes. Schools would be told to hire more teachers.

And desperate to stop it, politicians and business leaders would try to yank the plug. Audiences would cheer as the film's heroes defend the supercomputer as it churns out new laws, new policies for a new world. The climax would be Lenin being blown up by a bomb planted by a conservative, and in the moment, the people of the world would hang suspended. And then they would realize it was too late. Having seen the source of crime and its solution, the people wouldn't need Lenin anymore and take over the cities because, finally, they'd be free to choose their future.



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As the NSA Follows You, We Follow the Money

THE INTELLIGENCE-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX'S WEB OF INFLUENCE

BY EMILY MASTERS

Since the 9/11 attacks, the United States has witnessed the rapid growth of an intelligence-industrial complex that fuses government and corporate power. According to the Project on Government Oversight, \$300 billion a year is now spent on a "shadow government of private contractors." At the center of this arrangement is an interlocking web of current and former high-level government officials, major corporations, D.C. think tanks and other inside-the-Beltway operators who have benefitted from the rise of the surveillance state. Here are a few of the most notable:

SEN. DIANNE FEINSTEIN AND RICHARD C. BLUM: THE INTELLIGENCE POWER COUPLE

Life must be good when you are deciding on government contracts.

ment cyber-intelligence spending. But it must be even better if your husband is profiting handsomely off those decisions.

Dianne Feinstein (D-CA), the chair of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, is married to Richard C. Blum, who was substantially invested in URS Corp, which owns EG&G, a leading government technical provider that has been awarded hundreds of millions of dollars in security-related contracts. Feinstein never abstained from voting when it affected her husband's wallet and Blum made \$100 million when he sold his shares, as investigative reporter Peter Byrne exposed in his 2007 series the "Feinstein Files."

REP. MIKE ROGERS: TAKING CARE OF HIS BACKERS

"These narrowly targeted programs are legal, do not invade Americans' privacy, and are essential to detecting and disrupting future terrorist attacks," Rep. Mike Rogers (R.-Mich.) wrote in a *USA Today* editorial. As chairman of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, he was asked to respond to the NSA leaks.

What did his editorial leave out? That, of his top 20 contributors, Rogers received campaign financing from eight of the major private intelligence contractors along with over \$100,000 from defense industry Political Action Committees (PACs) in 2012, according to the Center for Responsive Politics.

Rogers recently introduced legislation for the "improvement and reauthorization" of the USA PATRIOT Act, the post-9/11 law that has been used to greatly expand the surveillance state.

JOHN M. "MIKE" MCCONNELL: MAKING THE REVOLVING DOOR SPIN

Mike McConnell's résumé reads like an advertisement for Washington's revolving door. In 1996, after four years as the NSA Director, he moved to Booz Allen Hamilton, a leading private

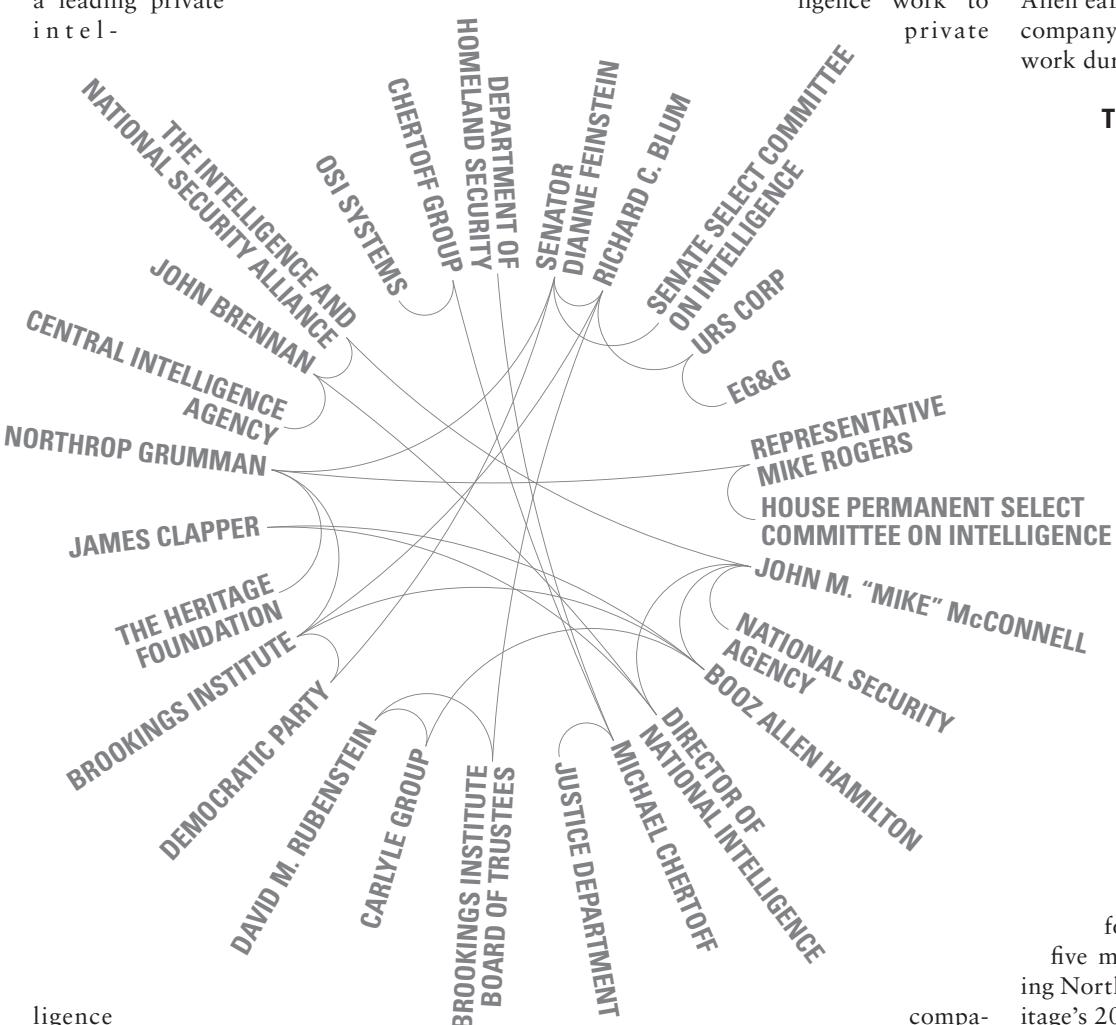
intel-

duced by OSI Systems, a client of the Chertoff Group.

THE INTELLIGENCE AND NATIONAL SECURITY ALLIANCE: TRADE ASSOCIATION FOR SPOOKS

Washington, D.C. is rife with trade associations lobbying the government to shower favors on their member companies. For the intelligence industry, INSA is the go-to group that has played a key role in facilitating the outsourcing of government intelligence work to

private



compan-

ies. Past chairs of INSA's Board of Directors include Mike McConnell, former Director of National Intelligence (2006-2009) and CIA Director John Brennan, a key architect of the Obama administration's expanded use of drones.

NORTHROP GRUMMAN: INVESTING IN ITS FUTURE

Northrop Grumman has made a pretty penny for its work focused on homeland security, as well as drones and naval vessels. According to *Business Insider*, the company made a total profit of \$2 billion in 2012.

The United States' third largest military contractor, Northrop Grumman spent \$17.5 million on lobbying in 2012. It also dished out an additional \$4 million in campaign contributions, according to the Center for Responsive Politics, bestowing donations of \$10,000 or more on 98 members of Congress, including Sen. Dianne Feinstein, who received a \$20,800 contribution.

BOOZ ALLEN HAMILTON: CONNECTIONS PAY OFF

As the privatization of U.S. intelligence

advances, industry leaders like Booz Allen Hamilton are engaged directly in information gathering and providing analysis and advice to government officials, according to *The New York Times*. A-list names with ties to Booz Allen include James Clapper, the current Director of National Intelligence and a former Booz executive, and Mike McConnell, a former Director of National Intelligence and the company's current vice-chairman. It's quite a business model. In June, the Times reported, "Booz Allen earned \$1.3 billion, 23 percent of the company's total revenue, from intelligence work during its most recent fiscal year."

THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION: CHAMPION OF PRIVATIZATION

"Efficiently tapping the private sector for national security can be an enormous competitive ad-

vanta-

tage for the U.S.," James Cafarano, Heritage VP, said on the foundation's blog.

That's hardly shocking since this leading conservative

foundation receives funding from five major military contractors, including Northrop Grumman, according to Heritage's 2011 annual report.

Think tanks, often cited in the media, have the ear of both politicians and the public, which is why their funders take such a keen interest in their work.

BROOKINGS INSTITUTE: PROMOTING BIPARTISAN CONSENSUS

"There is little reason for all but a handful of Americans to lose sleep over [PRISM], and those most likely to lose sleep are also most likely to pose security threats." No, that wasn't the Heritage Foundation. That was a guest scholar at the Brookings Institute, a venerable D.C. think tank with deep ties to the Democratic Party and extensive corporate funding. Major donors to Brookings include Booz Allen Hamilton, which donated more than \$1 million, according to the 2012 Brookings Annual Report. Brookings received \$250,000 from Richard C. Blum and Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-CA). Contributions of \$25,000 to \$100,000 each rolled in from Northrop Grumman and four other defense contractors. Blum also serves on the Board of Trustees with Vice Chair David M. Rubenstein, the Managing Director of The Carlyle Group, which owns Booz Allen.

How He Got the Story

NSA LEAKS JOURNALIST REFLECTS ON MEETING SNOWDEN

BY GLENN GREENWALD

Author, lawyer and fierce defender of civil liberties, Glenn Greenwald became a household name after he used documents provided by whistleblower Edward Snowden to publish a series of articles detailing the operations of the U.S. surveillance state. On June 28 he addressed attendees of the Socialism 2013 conference in Chicago via Skype. Here is a lightly edited excerpt of his talk.

I want to spend a little bit of time describing what has happened to me over the last four weeks from a somewhat personal perspective. It was many months ago that I was first contacted by Edward Snowden. He contacted me by email. He was anonymous. He didn't say much. He simply said he had what he thought would be some documents that I'd be interested in looking at, which turned out to be the world's largest

wanted to understand was what led him to make this extraordinary choice. This was in part because I didn't want to be part of an event that would destroy somebody's life if they weren't completely open-eyed and rational about the decision that they were making. But it was also because I wanted to understand what would lead somebody with their entire life in front of them — a perfectly desirable life: living with his longtime girlfriend in Hawaii, with career stability, a reasonably well-paying job — to throw it all away, become an instant fugitive and probably spend the rest of their life in a cage.

The more I spoke with him about it, the more I understood. And the more I understood, the more overwhelmed I became. What he told me over and over in different ways — and it was so pure and passionate that I never doubted its authenticity for even a moment — was that there's more to life than material comfort. Or career stability. Or trying to simply prolong your life as long

SNOWDEN CONTACTED ME BY EMAIL. HE WAS ANONYMOUS. HE DIDN'T SAY MUCH. HE SIMPLY SAID HE HAD SOME SECRET DOCUMENTS I MIGHT BE INTERESTED IN LOOKING AT. THAT WAS THE UNDERSTATEMENT OF THE DECADE.

understatement of the decade.

It wasn't until he was in Hong Kong that we really began to have substantive online conversations about who he was, what he was doing and what kind of documents he had. But I didn't know his name. I didn't know anything biographical about him, his age, where even he worked.

Like most of us do when we're interacting with somebody exclusively online, I began to form a mental impression of who he was. And I was pretty certain that he was older, even in his sixties. I thought that because he had such obviously penetrating access to top-secret documents. He also had such incredibly sophisticated and well-thought-through insight into the nature of the national security apparatus and his own relationship to it, that I thought he had been thinking about these things and interacting with them for decades.

But the real reason I thought that he was that age, nearing retirement, nearing even the end of his life, was because he was very emphatic from the beginning that he absolutely knew what he was doing would essentially unravel and probably destroy his life. That the chances that he would end up in prison for the rest of his life, if not worse, were very high. Probably close to inevitable. Or that at the very least that he would be on the run from the world's most powerful state for the rest of his life.

When I got to Hong Kong and met him for the first time, I was more disoriented than I think I had ever been in my life. Not only was he not 65, but he was 29 and looked much younger. When the filmmaker Laura Poitras and I went to his hotel room and began questioning him, what I really

as possible. What he continuously told me was that he judged his life not by the things that he thought about himself, but by the actions that he took in pursuit of those beliefs.

When I asked him how he got to the point where he was willing to take that risk, he told me that for a long time he had been looking for a leader, somebody who would come and fix these problems. And then one day he realized that there's no point in waiting for a leader, that leadership is about going first and setting an example for others. And what he ultimately said is that he simply didn't want to live in a world where the U.S. government was permitted to engage in these extraordinary invasions, to build a system that had as its goal the destruction of all individual privacy. That he didn't want to live in a world like that, and that he could not in good conscience stand by and allow that to happen knowing that he had the power to help stop it.

But the thing that was most striking to me about all of this is that I was with him for 11 straight days. I was with him before we divulged what his identity was, and I watched him watch the debates that he had really hoped to provoke unfold on CNN, NBC, MSNBC and every other channel around the world. I also watched him, once he was revealed, realize that he had become the most wanted man in the world. That Washington was calling for his head. And what was truly staggering to me, and continues to be staggering to me, is there was never a moment, never an iota, of remorse or regret or fear. This was an individual completely at peace with the choice that he had made

Continued on next page



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NYC RADIO

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Brooklyn BCAT

9am M-F

DISH Network & DirecTV

Free Speech TV

8am, noon, 8pm

and midnight M-F

8am, noon, 7pm Sat

8am, noon Sun

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A Daily Independent
Global News Hour

with Amy Goodman
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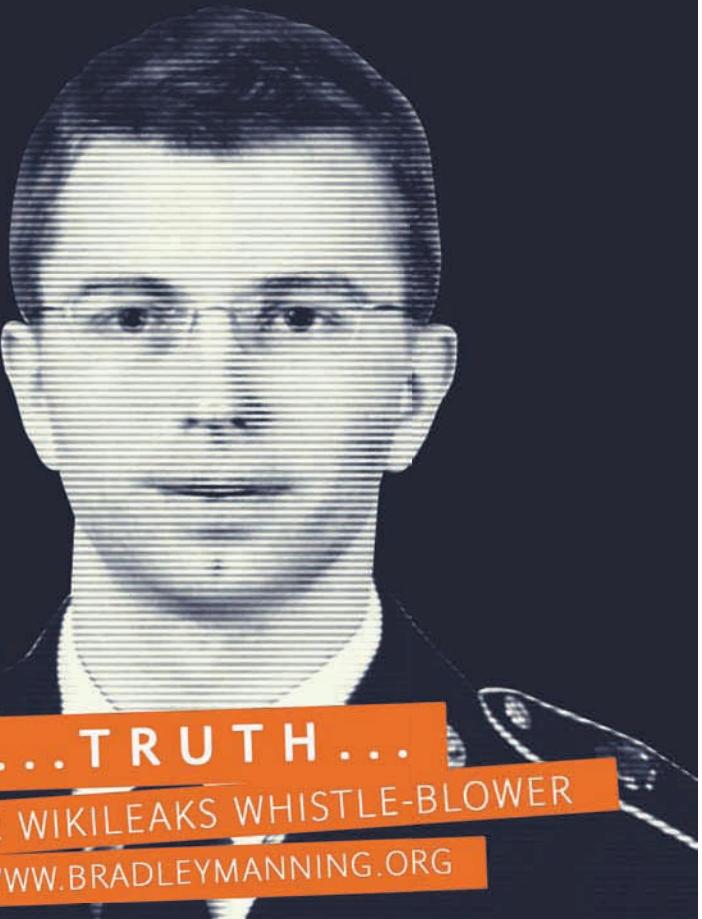
Please join us for a reception following the August 20th event, which will conclude the Teach Radical series. Light refreshments will be served.

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Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung's monthly series *Teach Radical: Alternative Education in Practice* showcases different approaches to progressive education and provides a space for radical educators to meet, learn, and collaborate.

When they came for BRADLEY MANNING I spoke out



UPCOMING EVENTS

WED, JULY 24 • 7:30 PM

BOOK PARTY

CO-SPONSOR: VERSO BOOKS

THE POORER NATIONS

A Possible History of the Global South

Vijay Prashad in Conversation with Andrew Hsiao

Sliding scale: \$6/\$10/\$15

FRI, JULY 26-28

9:00 AM-5:30 PM

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TOWARDS THE COMMONS

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**THE BRECHT
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BUILDING
A MOVEMENT
THAT MOVES

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MEDIA & THE STATE

Greenwald

Continued from previous page

because that choice was so incredibly powerful.

I was incredibly inspired by being in proximity to somebody who had reached a state of such tranquility — because he was so convinced that what he had done was right. His courage and passion infected me to the point that I vowed that no matter what I did in my life, with this story and beyond, I would devote myself to doing justice to the incredible act of self-sacrifice that Edward Snowden had made.

I then watched that energy infect everybody who I work with at *The Guardian*. I've watched, over the last several weeks, the editors of *The Guardian* engage in incredibly intrepid and fearless journalism and dismiss, day after day, the fear-mongering and threats of the U.S. government by saying, "We're going to continue publish whatever we think should be published in the public good."

One of the things that I know I set out to do, and that I think Mr. Snowden set out to do, and that I know the people at *The Guardian* set out to do, was not simply to publish some stories about the NSA. It was to really shake up the foundations of the corrupted and rotted roots of America's political and media culture.

There's an economist, Dean Baker, who wrote on Twitter that he thinks that the stories that we're doing are shining as much light on the corruption of American journalism as they are on the ongoing operations of the NSA. I think that is true, for several different reasons.

Number one is that if you look at the "debate" over the about whether or not I should be arrested, prosecuted and then imprisoned under espionage statutes for doing journalism, what you find is that

that debate is being led by people who are TV actors who play the role of journalists on TV. They're the ones who are actually feeding the debate. They purport to be adversaries and watchdogs of political power, but they are actually servants of political power.

What you find is that they always lead the way in attacking whoever challenges the political system in Washington, because that is the system of which they're a part. That system props them up, gives them oxygen and provides them with all of their privilege, wealth and access. And their true role — not to serve as adversaries of people in government power or to expose what they're doing, but to protect and shield them, and amplify their message — has become more vividly exposed in the last several weeks than it has in quite a long time.

When I look at how whistleblowers are treated, I can understand why ordinary Americans might have ambivalence about them. Some people think security is more important. Or that secrecy is something that should be decided by democratically elected officials and not by individual whistleblowers. But what I don't understand is how anybody who at any point thought of themselves as having a journalistic ethos would look at people who are shining light on the world's most powerful factions and do anything but applaud and express gratitude for them, since that's supposed to be the function that they, the journalists, themselves are serving. And yet what you find is the exact opposite.

*Glenn Greenwald is the author of four books, including *With Liberty and Justice for Some: How the Law is Used to Destroy Equality and Protect the Powerful*.*



INTO THE STREETS: Protesters pass by a surveillance pole at 26 Federal Plaza during the Restore the 4th march in NYC on July 4. Thousands came out to Restore the 4th protests in dozens of U.S. cities to decry the government's surveillance programs, voice support for NSA whistleblower Edward Snowden, and call for a restoration of the Fourth Amendment, which protects against unreasonable search and seizure.

Worried About Online Surveillance?

A COLLECTION OF TIPS AND HOW TO'S ON ALTERNATIVES

BY THE TACTICAL TECH TEAM
ILLUSTRATIONS BY JIM SECULA

If you're worried about the privacy of your online activities, be they website browsing, chats, voice calls, emails or cloud storage, there's no need to fear. For several years, software developers and privacy advocates have been inventing new tools and tactics for ordinary citizens, journalists, activists and human rights defenders to secure their online activities and control the information they share.

No IT tool or resource is perfect, nor can they guarantee you 100 percent privacy or information security online. Furthermore, you should only use tools which correspond to your own analysis of which information you need to keep private, which varies from person to person. All the same, it is better to use free and open-source software tools, since their security credentials and weaknesses can be independently verified, and you can therefore rely on the technology itself, rather than just what the developer says, and while they may not guarantee perfect information security, they can make surveillance or invasion of privacy much more difficult.

The following is a short list of alternative tools and platforms that will help keep your private information more secure. We've also provided links to step-by-step hands-on guides for their installation and use, where possible.

BROWSER

MOZILLA FIREFOX - SECURE WEB BROWSER

Some popular browsers, such as Safari, or Internet Explorer, are not open-source, meaning that their code cannot be analyzed and the security they claim to offer can't be independently verified. Other browsers that are partially open-source, such as Google Chrome, could still be used to gather information about your activities by linking them to your Google account.

Mozilla Firefox is a free, open-source web browser which was developed by a non-profit organization that has a commitment to protecting user privacy. Furthermore, its privacy features can be enhanced through a number of add-ons.

TOR BROWSER BUNDLE - ANONYMOUS AND SECURE WEB BROWSER

Whenever you visit a website or communicate (such as via email) through a web browser, traces of your activities are left behind in the form of your IP address, which is like the postal address of your computer, as well as through other means such as the cookies that may be sent to your browser. This means that many websites can track your visit and build a profile of you based on your activities.

If you want your browsing activities and location to be anonymized, we recommend you use Tor Browser. Tor is designed to increase the anonymity of your activities on the Internet. It disguises your identity and protects your online activities

from many forms of Internet surveillance by directing your internet traffic through a network of proxies. Tor can also be used to bypass Internet filters.



EMAIL PROVIDER

RISEUP

Many commercial email providers, such as Google or Yahoo, collect a huge amount of user information that can be handed over to third parties such as advertising companies and governments. Furthermore, some do not offer users an encrypted connection (known as HTTPS or SSL) by default, meaning that emails are sent in 'plain text' are readable by malicious hackers, Internet Service Providers and others with access to the networks as they travel between users' devices and the email provider's servers.

Riseup is a collectively-run organization dedicated to providing private and secure email and hosting services for individuals and organizations committed to political and social justice.

Although Riseup is a secure email service managed by trustworthy advocates of Internet privacy and security, an unusual email service may attract unwarranted attention. It might make more sense in some situations to blend in by using a popular email service in your country. The goal is to make this decision without compromising your minimum security requirements.

EMAIL CLIENT

MOZILLA THUNDERBIRD WITH ENIGMAIL AND GPG

Mozilla Thunderbird is a free and open-source email client for receiving, sending and storing emails. You can manage multiple email accounts through a single program. Enigmail and GnuPG will give you access to authentication, digital signing and encryption to ensure the privacy and security of your email communication.



ONLINE COLLABORATION

CRABGRASS

Social networking sites and online collaboration platforms such as those provided by Facebook and Google are major sources of information for governments or other individuals engaging in large- or small-scale surveillance and intelligence gathering, which may invade your privacy.

Crabgrass is an online platform designed for social networking, group collaboration and network organizing. Its group collaboration tools include private wikis, task lists, a file repository, and decision making tools.

SEARCH

DUCKDUCKGO

Many popular web search engines, such as Google or Bing, collect and aggregate data about your web searches and may pass them on to third parties. They may also link them to any other services you use from the same provider, such as your Google Mail, Google Plus, Microsoft Outlook or Skype accounts, creating a detailed profile of your online activities.

DuckDuckGo is a web search engine that does not pass on search requests to third parties or store any information about users.



VIDEO CHAT

JITSI

Some voice and video chat services store logs of your calls and chats and may hand them over to third parties. In the case of Microsoft's Skype, this has been a relatively regular practice.

Jitsi is a free, open-source software tool which allows for encrypted text chats with OTR form XMPP, Google Talk, Facebook, Yahoo, AIM, ICQ and many other accounts. Furthermore, it facilitates encrypted voice and video calls when using voice and video call accounts such as Google Talk.

face. OTR plug-in designed for use with Pidgin ensures authenticated and secure communications between users that also use Off-the-Record plug-ins.

PRIVATE CHAT – MOBILE

GIBBERBOT

Gibberbot is a free and open-source application for Android devices, created by the Guardian Project, that lets you organize and manage your different IM accounts using a single interface. It uses OTR software that ensures authenticated and secure communications between clients including Gibberbot, ChatSecure, Jitsi and Pidgin. Gibberbot can also add a layer of anonymity and protect your communications from many forms of Internet surveillance by connecting through Orbot, which allows your smartphone's internet traffic to be routed through the Tor network.



PRIVATE CALL – MOBILE

REDPHONE

Specifically targeted groups, such as human rights defenders, journalists and activists may be subjected to 'tapping' of their calls by adversaries with direct or indirect access to the cellular phone network.

RedPhone is a free and open-source software application that encrypts voice communication data sent between two devices that run this application. However, it also becomes easier to analyze the traffic it produces and trace it back to you through your mobile number. RedPhone uses a central server, which is a point of centralization and thus puts RedPhone in a powerful position (of having control over some of this data).

OSTEL.CO

Open Secure Telephony Network (OSTN) and the server provided by the Guardian Project, ostel.co, currently offers one of the most secure means to communicate via voice when used with the CSipSimple app. When using CSipSimple, you never directly communicate with your communication partner. Instead all of your data is routed through the Ostel server. This makes it much harder to trace your data and find out who you are talking to. Additionally, Ostel doesn't retain any of this data, except the account data that you need to log in.

A longer version of this article appears at alternatives.tacticaltech.org. For more resources, see securityinabox.org and myshadow.org/.

EDWARD SNOWDEN

DATE OF BIRTH

June 21, 1983

HOMETOWN

Elizabeth City, N.C.

WHAT HE LEAKED

Snowden provided internal NSA documents to *The Guardian's* Glenn Greenwald detailing a previously undisclosed program, PRISM, which gives the agency "direct access" to data held by Google, Facebook, Apple, Microsoft and other U.S. internet giants. Snowden also disclosed a secret court order showing the U.S. government had forced Verizon to hand over the phone records of millions of Americans. Furthermore, Snowden's leaks have revealed massive U.S. surveillance of millions of people's phone and internet activity in countries around the world, including allies in Europe and Latin America.

IMPACT

In a January 2010 poll conducted by Quinnipiac University, the U.S. public said by a 63-25 margin that the government didn't go far enough in restricting civil liberties in the name of anti-terrorism efforts. In the wake of Snowden's leaks, a new poll by Quinnipiac shows respondents now believe by a 45-40 margin that the government goes too far in restricting civil liberties.

WHAT THEY ARE SAYING

"In my estimation, there has not been in American history a more important leak than Edward Snowden's release of NSA material — and that definitely includes the Pentagon Papers 40 years ago."

— Daniel Ellsberg, Author of the Pentagon Papers

SNOWDEN, IN HIS OWN WORDS

"I had been looking for leaders, but I realized that leadership is about being the first to act."

"At this point in history, the greatest danger to our freedom and way of life comes from...omniscient State powers kept in check by nothing more than policy documents."

LEGAL STATUS

Snowden was charged with three felonies in June: theft of government property and two charges of violating the Espionage Act. He faces up to 30 years in prison.

IMMIGRATION STATUS

After initially fleeing to Hong Kong, since June 23 Snowden has been stranded in a transit zone in a Moscow airport with a revoked U.S. passport. Three countries — Venezuela, Bolivia and Nicaragua — have offered him political asylum. The U.S. has threatened dire consequences for any country that shelters Snowden.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

www.guardian.co.uk/world/edward-snowden



THE INDEPENDENT'S WHISTLEBLOWER POSTER SERIES

This is the first in a series of four posters featuring whistleblowers who have taken great risks to expose the crimes and the misdeeds of our government.

July (Issue #188)

August (Issue #189)

September (Issue #190)

October (Issue #191)

Edward Snowden
John Kiriakou
Jesselyn Radack
Bradley Manning

Africa's Small Steps Toward Equality

BY NEELA GHOSHAL

DAR ES SALAAM, Tanzania — I first met Saidi W., a 20-year-old gay Tanzanian university student, in a cramped, humid room in Dar es Salaam. I sat on a mattress on the floor, cross-legged, while four young men slouched against the wall, telling me stories of the brutal treatment they endure for being gay.

In 2010, Saidi, who sometimes does sex work to make ends meet, was on the street looking for clients when a police officer posing as a client took him to a guest house and then arrested him. The officer forced him at gunpoint to call five gay friends and tell them to meet him at a bar. When they arrived, the police arrested all of them. They proceeded to undress and beat the five friends before taking them into custody. Saidi recalled, "They said, 'We're arresting you because you're gays and you're shaming us. Our country does not allow homosexuals. Our law and our religion and customs don't allow this.'"

At the police station, Saidi and his friends were repeatedly raped by fellow detainees. When they called out to the police for help, the police said, "This is good, this is what you want."

In order to bribe her son and his friends out of custody, Saidi's mother had to take out a loan from a local money lender. Head held between cupped hands, Saidi said, "When I remember that situation, I want to cry."

Hearing the story, I too wanted to cry. Tanzania doesn't make headlines for its brutal repression of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI) people. That kind of attention goes to countries like Uganda, where a draft law would make some homosexual acts punishable by death. And Tanzania is not Cameroon, where at least 30 people have been prosecuted for

consensual same-sex conduct since 2010. Arrests of LGBTI people in Tanzania rarely lead to prosecution; usually they're simply a pretext for police to collect bribes or coerce sex from vulnerable people.

But despite Tanzania's lack of notoriety, what happened to Saidi occurs with disturbing frequency there. The same goes for many other countries in sub-Saharan Africa where my colleagues at Human Rights Watch and I have conducted research.

Consensual same-sex conduct is criminalized in at least 76 countries, 37 of them in Africa. Most laws date to the colonial era. Britain, for instance, adopted a cookie-cutter approach to "sodomy laws," leaving a legacy of dozens of former countries with identical texts punishing "carnal knowledge against the order of nature" (in other words, anal sex).

But the colonizers aren't the only ones to blame for homophobia and transphobia in Africa. Several Francophone countries had no colonial legacy of sodomy laws, but banned homosexual conduct post-independence, like Cameroon in 1972, or Burundi as recently as 2009.

Apart from sodomy laws, Africa lags well behind most other regions in its near-absence of anti-discrimination provisions protecting sexual orientation and gender identity. Transgender people are among the most vulnerable to discrimination, in housing, employment, education and access to health care. Even in South Africa, with a comprehensive anti-discrimination law and full marriage equality, lesbians and trans men are frequently raped and murdered.

Foreign influences also play a role, and a number of U.S.-based fundamentalist Christian groups have found an outlet in Africa. Pat Robertson's American Center for Law and Justice has opened affiliates in Kenya and Zimbabwe, and their stated objectives include the "protection of families" (but not

the gay and lesbian kind). Other American evangelists have delivered homophobic rants in Uganda, energizing proponents of the draconian Anti-Homosexuality Bill.

Opponents of LGBTI rights are working aggressively to shut down voices defending equality. Nigeria's "Same Sex Marriage Prohibition Bill," passed in May and sent to the president for his signature, imposes a 10-year prison sentence for anyone who participates in a "gay organization" or supports the activities of such groups. Uganda's proposed Anti-Homosexuality Bill, apart from its scandalous death penalty provisions, includes a less-discussed but ill-defined and insidious clause that would criminalize the work of human rights organizations on the pretext that they "promote homosexuality." In Zambia, an HIV activist is on trial for supporting LGBTI equality during a television interview.

RECENT PROGRESS

In this context, it's not easy for activists to maintain hope. But such backlash is to be expected. Why? Because there's been progress. Ten years ago, many African countries had no LGBTI organization engaged in public advocacy. Now, some have dozens. In Burundi, the first time a gay activist came out publicly was in 2007. Now, only six years later, LGBTI Burundians have a thriving community center, submit shadow reports at the U.N. Human Rights Council and publish incisive legal analyses of discriminatory laws and policies.

A trans woman in Kenya is suing to have her name and gender changed on her education certificates. The Kenyan media have handled the case objectively and respectfully. In Uganda, LGBTI activists won a lawsuit against a tabloid newspaper that had violated their rights by publishing pictures of alleged gays under the headline, "Hang Them." Malawian activists successfully

lobbied President Joyce Banda to impose a moratorium on arrests under that country's sodomy law.

Botswana and Mauritius, despite retaining colonial-era sodomy laws, have in recent years prohibited employment discrimination based on sexual orientation, demonstrating their will to tackle homophobia. The policies have placed them ahead of a number of U.S. states, which still lack such legislation.

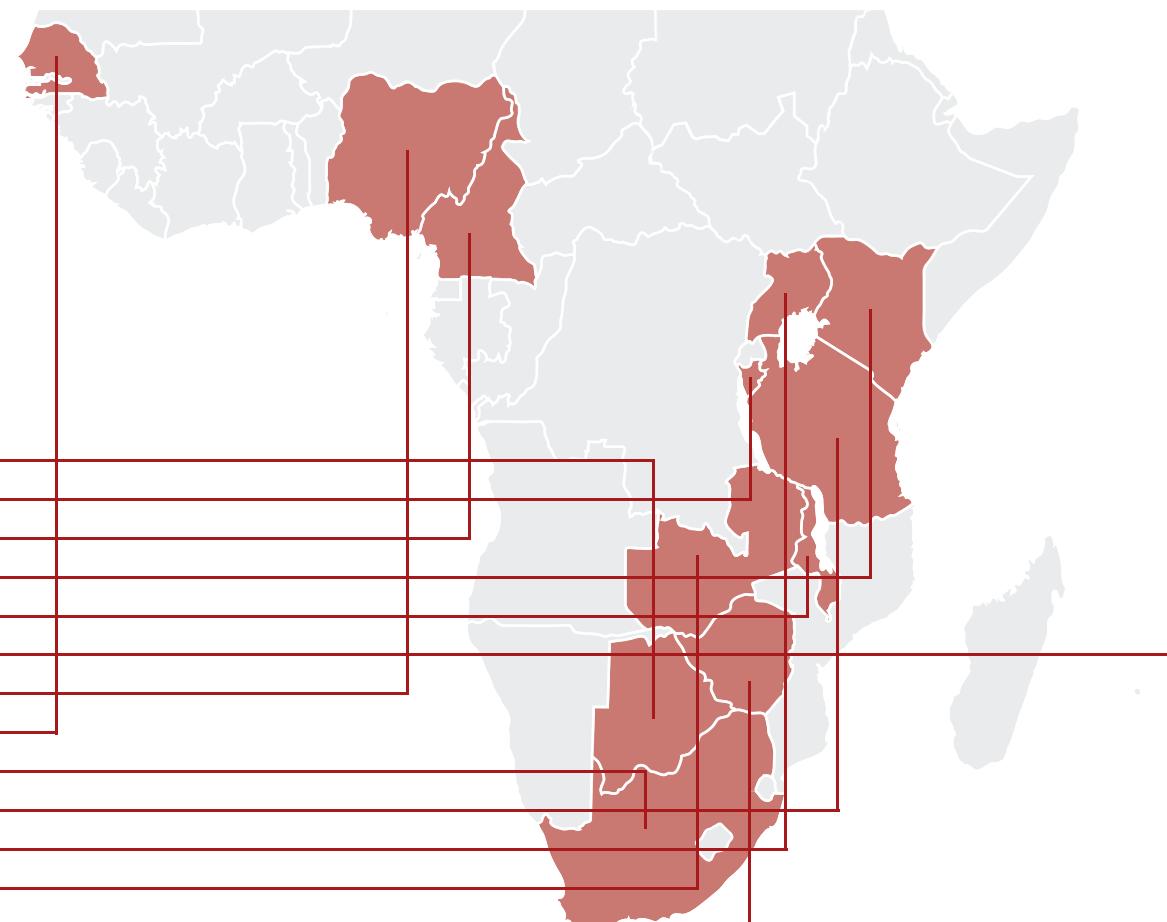
Recently, a number of reactionary government officials and politicians throughout Africa, from Senegal to Tanzania to Zambia, have attempted to radicalize public opinion against LGBTI people by claiming these groups are seeking "same-sex marriage." This is "against African values," they thunder. But they are arguing against a straw man. At the moment, none of the dozens of African LGBTI organizations I have worked with are pushing for marriage equality. They're looking for something much more basic: that governments take steps to ensure that LGBTI people are no longer beaten, raped and tortured for being who they are.

So as a Human Rights Watch researcher and advocate for LGBTI rights in Africa, when I meet with government officials, I start with the basics. Whatever your personal feelings about sexual orientation and gender identity, when someone like Saidi W. is gang-raped by his fellow detainees while in police custody, should the police protect him? Should he be able to file a complaint against his aggressors? Or should he be turned away? Fundamentally: does Saidi deserve to live?

Confronted with this question, most government officials say yes. And that's a start. But it's only the first step toward equality.

Neela Ghoshal is a researcher in the LGBT Rights Program at Human Rights Watch, based in Nairobi, Kenya.

OUT IN AFRICA



Cameroon's "Gay Scare"

BY ERIC O. LEMBEMBE

YAOUNDÉ, Cameroon — Bruno E. and Marc Henri B. were arrested in September 2010, during a police search in their apartment for a stolen laptop. On October 7, 2010, they were accused before a judge of "being caught in the act of homosexual conduct." That same night, the two friends were thrown in prison to serve out a term of six months. This happened solely because when police were searching their apartment, they found dozens of condoms — some bearing slogans in French like "glisse entre mecs" ("slide between guys").

On January 7, 2013, Jonas K. and Franky D., two young transgender women who had been sentenced in 2011 to five years in prison for alleged homosexual conduct, were finally acquitted by an appeals court. They had been arrested for allegedly having sex in a vehicle. According to the police report, the occupants of the vehicle were "groping" each other, which the police considered to be a form of "homosexual sex." The appeals court ruled that there was no evidence to support the conviction. However, the state prosecutor's office refuses to let the case go and has appealed it to the Supreme Court.

Another extraordinary case, which has captured the attention of the media in Cameroon and abroad, is that of Roger M., a philosophy student at the University of Yaoundé who was arrested and convicted of homosexual conduct in March 2011 after sending another man several text messages, including one that read, "I've fallen in love with you." On April 28, 2011, this 33-year-old Cameroonian was sentenced to three years in prison for "homosexual conduct." His lawyers, Alice Nkom and Michel Togué, immediately appealed the decision and filed a motion to release Roger on bail, which the court rejected. Thanks to the tenacity of the lawyers, after a dozen more attempts, the bail motion was finally accepted in June 2012. Roger was "provisionally released" after more than 16 months in prison. Unfortunately, defying all expectations, the Central Appeals Court upheld his conviction and three-year prison sentence in a December 2012 ruling, and ordered his re-arrest. He has lived in hiding ever since.

PENAL CODE

Cameroon has stacked up 30 or more cases in which people are arrested on the basis of mere accusations and convicted for "homosexual conduct" in the absence of limited or nonexistent proof. All of these cases against alleged gays and lesbians fall under the scope of Article 347 bis of the Penal Code, which mandates prison terms of up to five years for "sexual relations between persons of the same sex."

This article was added to the Penal Code in 1972 by means of a presidential ordinance, issued by then-president Ahmadou Ahidjo with no public consultation. Most human rights defenders in Cameroon consider the law unconstitutional. Nonetheless, it is enforced with such severity that Cameroon has become known as a country where people

accused of same-sex conduct are prosecuted more rigorously than almost anywhere else in the world.

Outside of the courtroom, homophobic voices on the ground are also becoming stronger. As gays and lesbians begin to speak out and as the topic of homosexuality increasingly becomes a subject of public debate both in Cameroon and internationally, some Cameroonian journalists, preachers and politicians are seizing on the opportunity for self-promotion. They sensationalize the issue in order to whip the public into a frenzy, taking advantage of Cameroonians' fear of the unknown to create a "Gay Scare" that will sell newspapers and draw the public to certain churches or political parties.

It is difficult to spend a day or even an hour in the streets, markets, offices, churches and public taxis of Yaoundé and Douala, or to listen to interactive radio programs or television debates, without hearing the conversations turn to homosexual "deviance." Critics firmly condemn what they call the "practice" of homosexuality, which they deem "moral decadence," "unnatural," "unacceptable" and "satanic."

Some observers say that all of this agitation has brought homosexuality "out of the closet" by making it the subject of debate in the public sphere. Further, the public debate leaves no doubt that gays exist, and that they have serious concerns.

Eric O. Lembembe is a journalist in Cameroon and a leader of the Cameroonian Foundation for AIDS (CAM-FAIDS).

A Trans Woman in Uganda

BY CLEO KAMBUGU

KAMPALA, Uganda — I was born a boy, Ceasar Kambugu, in a bourgeois suburb called Bakuli, on the outskirts of Kampala, to two loving middle-aged parents. As I grew into a transgender girl, it was a process my family couldn't quite understand. The word transgender is absent in our local dialect, Luganda.

My parents and siblings didn't ridicule me, but at the same time, they found my unconventional expression of gender and sexuality disconcerting. It was the elephant in the room that we chose not to discuss. I was referred to by masculine pronouns. It seemed simpler that way. My family was very protective of me — perhaps as a result of my peculiarity — but even with that protection I was still often bullied, by peers, insensitive teachers and passers-by.

On a more personal level, I craved intimacy but couldn't risk exposure. In high school, among pubescent boys raging with hormones, I was repeatedly abused, sexually as well as physically. It was the only love I received, it was the only intimacy I understood, and for some reason, perhaps because it reaffirmed my femininity, it sufficed:



HYE JIN CHUNG

the benefits outweighed the pain.

The stigma I've experienced is small compared to what many of my Ugandan transgender counterparts are living through. Many of them have been abused and driven out of their homes by their families, shoved into the ruthless world of sex work, exposed to the HIV virus, or worse. In a recent incident, a transgender woman sex worker was harassed and undressed by police on the street; the humiliating event was caught on film and later aired on national television.

Looking back to two years ago when I found and became a member of the Ugandan lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI) movement, I breathe a sigh of relief. I am now 27 years old — a late bloomer — and I don't know if I would have made it much longer without the support of this community.

I now work as a program officer with the Trans Support Initiative Uganda (TSIU), an organization that fights for social justice for intersex, transgender and gender non-conforming people. We use a variety of approaches to build visibility around transgender issues and empower our membership, currently 45 strong. These include strategic litigation and advocacy — for example, around the proposed Anti-Homosexuality Bill that would impose the death penalty or life in prison for certain kinds of homosexual acts — as well as helping our members achieve economic empowerment and providing them with access to health and psychosocial rehabilitation services.

For me and many transgender Ugandans, the LGBTI movement is an oasis amidst turmoil. But of course, it isn't without its own perils. At TSIU, there is tension between achieving the visibility we want for transgender issues and providing a safe space for our members. Due to obvious security reasons, the transgender community in Uganda must often exist underground. We work confidentially and keep a low profile to provide for our members' safety, but even then it is difficult to convince people to join. At the same time, that approach constrains us in our visibility-building efforts in local communities.

However, we're seeing progress. Ugandan culture is tight-lipped about issues of sexuality — heteronormative and certainly otherwise — and much remains to be demystified and debated about its actual stance on LGBTI issues. Constructive public dialogue about them has been slow to pick up speed, but people have begun talking.

Cleo Kambugu is a member of Trans Support Initiative Uganda (TSIU). She is currently conducting research on access to health care for transgender Ugandans.

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Equal But Different GAY MARRIAGE IN FRANCE

BY ANNA POLONYI

In May 2013, French president Francois Hollande signed a bill that made France the 14th country in the world to open marriage to same-sex couples. That same month, Abdellatif Kechiche was awarded the highest prize at the Cannes Film Festival for his film, *La Vie d'Adele (Blue is the Warmest Color)* — it tells the long, torrid and tormented coming-of-age story of a French lesbian, and was praised by critics all around the country.

For many, these events did not come as a surprise. After all, France considers itself the cradle of human rights and civil liberties, where secularism is as important as the idea of universal suffrage, and where socialists have long had a stronghold.

Except that the same day that saw the Palme d'Or being bestowed upon a queer movie in Cannes also saw hundreds of thousands gather in Paris to protest gay marriage. This came at the tail end of an anti-gay rights movement that had grown into full force over the spring. While the Parliament squabbled over the footnotes of the bill, masses protested the idea of it. And as it became clear that the bill would pass, the opposition grew more ferocious: homophobic violence, illegal protests and scuffles with the police became a near daily occurrence.

Gay marriage was never really about the gays. When Hollande ran for president in 2012, it was one of his more prominent agenda items. The socialist candidate's project of "marriage pour tous" or "marriage for all" wouldn't just open civil union to same-sex partners — it would also grant them the same status as heterosexual couples under adoption and inheritance laws. Hollande even promised to open artificial insemination to single women and lesbians, though he dropped this last point when it set off a whole new level of controversy.

With a left-wing majority in both houses of parliament, it seemed that the bill was a done deal. Except that two things were not to be underestimated: France's conservative bedrock and Hollande's vast unpopularity. It was an explosive combination.

Ten months into his term, no president has plummeted so fast in the popularity polls. A mixture of unkept promises, austerity



BACKLASH: Thousands of opponents of gay marriage protest in Paris on March 24.

measures and high unemployment as well a high-level tax scandal meant that Hollande had seen more loving days. The issue of gay marriage became a rallying point not only for those traditionally opposed to gay rights, such as the Catholic Church, but also for a range of people dissatisfied with the way Hollande has run the country.

Extreme right-wing youth groups marched alongside politicians and nuns. Grandparents and toddlers, parents and teenagers protested to the soundtrack of Gangnam Style or Asaf Avidan's hit "One Day." Hundreds of thousands came together under the umbrella title of "Manif Pour Tous" ("Protest For All," a spoof of Hollande's "marriage for all"). The tactics of those opposed to the bill varied, ranging from sending death threats to politicians to organizing nightlong prayers for the salvation of their souls. In an attempt to appeal to wider audiences, one particularly extremist group calling itself the "French Spring" compared its members to the protesters of Tiananmen Square and Prague in 1968, even as it released statements suggesting it would target pro-marriage equality factions of the government, political parties and lobby groups and was accused of sending death threats.

According to Scott E. Gunther, author of *The Elastic Closet: A History of Homosexuality in France, 1942–Present*, what got people out into the streets was not the issue of marriage but the idea of adoption. "Even among the more traditional opponents of same-sex marriage in France, it seems that what bothers many of them is not homo-

sexuality per se, but disruption of traditional family and gender norms," he says. In this sense, France's argument against marriage equality differs from that of the United States: the general sentiment is that two consenting adults can do as they please — for example, get married — but they should not impose their lifestyle on others, namely, the children that they would raise. Same-sex adoption was perceived as undermining the family and a threat to the very core of society. Invoking the human rights of the child, the anti-gay rights movement managed to garner respect among a swathe of the population that had not been particularly politically active beforehand.

The French LGBT community responded by organizing marches and rallies as well, often on the same day, and rapidly calling attention to threats or violence. When the gay marriage bill was finally passed this May, Green Member of Parliament Noël Mamère said, "This is not a historical day; France is merely catching up," which summed up the general sentiment among supporters that it would inevitably pass sooner or later.

Marriage equality has become Hollande's flagship reform,

as he hoped it would. With 4,999 amendments filed by the opposition, the parliamentary debate became one of the longest in French history. After the media frenzy died down, the fascists, conservatives and confused children's rights activists returned to the woodwork, with various radical fractions splintering off and then fizzling out.

While this spring did in fact reveal the dark, bigoted underbelly of French society, it also shed light on the strength of the democratic process: while an unlucky combination of timing and context can throw a wrench in the fight for gay rights, the democratic ideal of equal treatment under the law is difficult to deny.



SIGN OF THE TIMES: Concerns about same-sex parenting divided France this spring.

WORLD BRIEFS

UNIONS LAUNCH ONE-DAY GENERAL STRIKE IN BRAZIL

Brazil's anti-government protest movement took a new turn on July 11 as trade unions led for a one-day nationwide general strike and tens of thousands of workers took to the streets. According to *The New York Times*, highways and ports were blockaded while banks and schools and some factories were closed or occupied. The protest movement began in June following a hike in bus fares and quickly mushroomed into the country's largest anti-government protests since the country's military dictatorship ended in 1985. Public anger has been fueled by government spending of billions of dollars on new sports stadiums to host the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympics while public services deteriorate.

"The important thing," one protester told the Times, "is to keep this movement going and the pressure on, like wave after wave

crashing on the shore, pounding away at the government until Brazil gets the changes it needs."

TAR SANDS PROTESTERS GO TO THE SOURCE

Hundreds of environmental activists from across Canada joined indigenous leaders on July 5 and 6 for the fourth annual "healing walk" around a tar sands oil production site in the western province of Alberta. Participants called for tar sands mining and processing to be ended due to the irreparable damage it causes to surrounding land and waterways and because its extraction involves a higher rate of carbon emissions than regular crude oil.

"The land is sick here. The people are sick from polluted air, water and food," said Jesse Cardinal, co-organizer from the indigenous-led Keepers of the Athabasca.

The protest came as the Obama administration considers whether to allow the giant Keystone XL pipeline to be built from

Canada to refineries on the Texas Gulf Coast, where it would bring 800,000 barrels per day of toxic oil slurry.

EGYPT IN TURMOIL, ARMS DEAL STILL ON TRACK

The United States is sticking with plans to deliver four F-16 fighters jets to Egypt in August despite the Egyptian military's July 3 overthrow of the democratically elected government of Mohamed Morsi. The planes, which are made by Lockheed Martin, are a part of the \$1.3 billion per year in U.S. military aid to Egypt. Under U.S. law, Washington cannot export arms to countries whose governments come to power through a coup...except when it decides to go ahead and do so anyway.

— INDDEPENDENT STAFF

Rethinking Black Reality

INTERVIEW BY
ASHLEY MARINACCIO

*Dominique Fishback is a creative powerhouse. At age 22 she has already accomplished goals that seasoned performers dream of — touring nationally performing her poetry, making appearances on national television and starring in many NYC productions. This summer, Fishback makes her off-Broadway debut in her one-woman show *Subverted*, at the Culture Project's Women Center Stage Festival on Friday, July 19 (see listings below). Fishback channels her experience growing up in East New York, Brooklyn and being one of two African-American students in the Theater Arts/Acting class of 2013 at Pace University into an unapologetically race-conscious production. Featuring Fishback playing 20 characters, it traces the origins of the structural inequalities faced by black communities in the United States to the collective inherited history of slavery.*

ASHLEY MARINACCIO: What inspired *Subverted*? What issues does the play tackle? How have your personal experiences informed the play?

DOMINIQUE FISHBACK: The play opens with the main character Eden being accepted into a private university and categorized as below average, despite graduating from high school as class valedictorian. This part comes from my personal experience: I too graduated valedictorian, and was put into

a program at Pace for students who “needed more academic attention” from the university. This is one of the crucial points of *Subverted*: it shows that even the best that’s available in the low-income communities isn’t properly preparing young people to succeed outside of them.

People at Pace have considered me the exception, and they often said, “Well, the people in your neighborhood just don’t want better for themselves.” I have tried to explain that we all live in different circumstances and that in order for there to be a top, there has to be a bottom. It just so happens that those in the ghetto live at the bottom, and so there is a higher climb that has to be made, and with fewer tools, which makes the climb harder. Some of this play was born out of that.

AM: Why did you create the character of Charlotte for this play? As a slave who lived more than 150 years ago, what does she have to say to us?

DF: I believe that slavery and racism is the thing that destroyed black identity in America. The negative associations with being black — poor grammar, violence, and broken homes, to name a few — are stereotypes, but they come from some kind of truth. I found myself questioning why these things were true. They can’t just be innate. So where did they come from? Why is this the collective reality?

I found passages about how slaves would fry leftover food and put salt on it, to give it flavor and

make it good enough to eat. Could that be why black people today don’t eat properly? When slavery was over, black people found slum areas to live in. Could that be why the majority of people in urban ghettos are black? During slavery the masters used to breed slaves and sell them away from their parents. Could that be why a lot of us come from broken homes? When black women today have babies or emotionless sex for material things, could it be because during slavery, the overseers and masters used to keep “bed wenches” — women who gave them sex for more food and clothes? The play doesn’t go into all of these specifics but in order to show that this slave mentality has been passed down for 400 years and is now a cycle that is hard to break — thus affecting generations of blacks that weren’t present for it — I thought that Charlotte, the slave, could help make the connection.

AM: What aspect of the black experience in America is least understood by others?

DF: Definitely the fact that equal opportunity does not really exist.

I have lived in Brooklyn, East New York and have witnessed many people stay “prisoner to the block.” I also realized that often, growing up in “the hood,” you are accustomed to certain learned behaviors that you learn are “wrong” or “classless” when you leave, if you ever get that chance. You see that the “outside world” doesn’t dress, talk or live the way you have your whole life. You are told to assimilate and to be tolerant of the larger world’s ignorance about where you come from, but the reality is that the larger world is never forced to reciprocate. And that’s because “the hood” is a place they never have to go to improve their lives or reach their American dream.

If places considered “the ghetto” — such as Brownsville, the South Bronx, Southside Chicago, Detroit and North Philly — can exist, then there is no such thing as equal opportunity. To be born and raised in these ghettos means that one is already disadvantaged: because of the neighborhoods’ economic deprivation, the schools there have lower standards and lack enough textbooks, computers, and SAT prep courses. It is why they do not have swimming, gymnastics, piano, singing, or dancing lessons, and very little theater opportunities.

When I think of “equal opportunity,” I think of the fact that while there are no physical chains or masters saying certain people cannot learn or reach the American dream, there are still these “slum areas” that are not given the same tools that other communities have



HISTORY LESSON: Dominique Fishback in *Subverted*.

such easy access to.

AM: How do you think *Subverted* will change the theatrical landscape?

DF: I think the play proves that black actresses can do the “ghetto” roles and do them well but are capable of much more, if given the opportunity. Hopefully one day because an actress in her early 20s wrote and performed in a one-woman show with twenty characters, we will no longer have to prove ourselves in that way unless we want to.

For more about Dominique Fishback see www.dominique-fishback.com.

JULY/AUGUST THEATER LISTINGS

SUBVERTED

WRITTEN AND PERFORMED BY DOMINIQUE FISHBACK

A one-woman show about the destruction of Black identity through the eyes of one girl and the people of her community, written and performed by 22-year-old actor, spoken word poet and first-time playwright Dominique Fishback.

Fri, July 19 at 8pm
Culture Project, 45 Bleecker St
\$12: cultureproject.org or web.ovationtix.com/trs/dept/425

MIDTOWN INTERNATIONAL THEATER FESTIVAL: Four theaters, all in the same building at 312 W 36th Street, will be bustling with events during the 14th annual installment of this eclectic program, originally created

as a Midtown alternative to the New York International Fringe Festival, which overtakes Manhattan around the same time. Dozens of plays, musicals and readings are planned.

Through August 4. For the full festival schedule, see midtownfestival.org or call 866-811-4111.

NY INTERNATIONAL FRINGE FESTIVAL: Theater festival and one of the largest multi-arts events in North America, the NY International Fringe Festival takes place over the course of two weeks every August, spread on more than 20 stages across several neighborhoods in downtown Manhattan, notably the Lower East Side, the East Village and Greenwich Village. The Festival includes many component events, such as FringeU (educational events), FringeART (art events), FringeAL FRESCO (free outdoor performances) and FringeJR (children’s events). At the conclusion of the festival around 20 shows are selected to participate in the FringeNYC Encore Series which runs for an additional two weeks in September.

Runs August 9–25. For the full festival schedule, see fringenyc.org or call 212-352-3101.

SHAKESPEARE IN THE PARKING LOT: RICHARD II

DIRECTED BY HAMILTON CLANCY

Following in the spirit of Joseph Papp, the Drilling Company returns for its 18th consecutive summer of staging modern interpretations of Shakespearean classics in a Lower East Side municipal parking lot. This year’s season kicks off with a staging of *Cymbeline*, a romantic comedy/tragedy in which heroes Imogen and Posthumus find their love affair put to the test by the deeply polarized world around them.

Through July 27

Thurs–Sat, 8pm

Municipal parking lot at the corner of Ludlow and Broome Sts.

Free (first come, first served)

For more information, see shakespeareintheparkinglot.com or call 212-873-9050.

SHAKESPEARE IN THE PARKING LOT: RICHARD III

DIRECTED BY HAMILTON CLANCY

In February, researchers found the remains of Richard III in a municipal parking lot in Leicestershire England, more than 500 years after he became the last British monarch to die in battle.

In August, Richard III can once again be found in a parking lot as the Drilling Company stages Shakespeare’s history of a king who has come to symbolize the evil that can be wrought by the unrestrained drive for power.

Aug. 1–17

Thurs–Sat, 8pm

Municipal parking lot at the corner of Ludlow and Broome Sts.

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SANITATION, OR OFF THE GRID

WRITTEN AND DIRECTED BY CRYSTAL FIELD

The San Man’s work never ends, especially in Theater for the New City’s rip-roaring “Operetta For the Street” about three NYC sanitation workers who go on a long-awaited vacation only to encounter a world full of garbage — physical as well as social and political.

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— ROBERT GANYO & JOHN TARLETON

Fragile Lives

A Different Kind of Order: The ICP Triennial

CURATED BY KRISTEN LUBBEN, CHRISTOPHER PHILLIPS, CAROL SQUIERS AND JOANNA LEHAN
INTERNATIONAL CENTER OF PHOTOGRAPHY
1133 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS
Through September 22

Hey, wanna see something? Go downstairs in the International Center of Photography right now, and you can see an artist stepping on a carrot. It's part of A.K. Burns' 2011 video installation *Touch Parade*, in which she also rubs a balloon against her belly and stomps around in the mud. These are reenactments of erotic videos posted on YouTube, but since these actions don't read as 'erotic' outside of particular sexual communities, such videos handily evade YouTube censorship.

Upstairs, there's another artist touching things: in Thomas Hirschhorn's 2012 video *Touching Reality*, we see Hirschhorn's hand as he swoops and pans through photographs on an Apple iPad. The photographs are horrific, displaying human bodies that have been brutalized into abstract, bloody catastrophes. They are most likely the result of U.S. intervention in the Middle East: wartime images too graphic for the nightly news.

These works are on view as part of ICP's triennial exhibition, "A Different Kind of Order." It's a bracing, exciting show: not high on emotion, but filled with compelling concepts and a desire to engage the ever-shifting present moment. The show seems to ask, what is the role of individual artists — and, by extension, any of us — in a digitally-defined landscape of unpredictable growth, nebulous cultural entities and mas-



Thomas Hirschhorn, *Touching Reality*, 2012. Courtesy the artist; Galerie Chantal Crousel, Paris; and Barbara Gladstone Gallery, New York.

sive corporations? Throughout, there's a sense that the systems have become too complex — the problems too big, the horrors too great — to even grapple with on an individual level.

And yet, individuals make do with what they have. Rabih Mroué's *Blow Up* (2012) considers the human-scale effects of violence in Syria through blurry cell-phone video: hard to see, hard to watch, hard to know, and often the only footage available. In one of the exhibit's best moments, Hito Steyerl's videos *November* (2004) and *Abstract* (2012) find the artist using modern or intellectual tools — cinematic archives, film theory, digital cameras — to process a personal and historical loss: the death of her friend Andrea Wolf, who was killed by Turkish soldiers while working with the militant leftist Kurdistan Workers' Party.

This theme — fragile, individual lives caught up in giant emergencies — is central to Gideon Mendel's work, perhaps the most immediately relevant in the show. Mendel's ongoing *Drowning World* project includes subtly composed photos and video of people going about their daily tasks in the protracted aftermath(s) of massive floods — not every town gets disaster relief, you see. The images are a grim warning that climate change is set to become something far worse than a disaster: a fact of daily life.

The themes of dwindling resources and waste are unavoidable (if not quite as direct) in Michael Schmeling's photos, shot while he was working with some sort of hoarder-cleanup outfit. These pictures show frightening piles of yellowing, flashlit, accumulated stuff: the sort of thing that sprouts up when people forget to erect barriers between themselves and American consumer culture. Then, there are the photos taken by Luis Molina-Pantin while he was reportedly posing as a real-estate agent, images that soberly show the decadent-beyond-decadent homes built by enterprising Colombian drug traffickers. The pictures are clean and spacious, but like Schmeling's close-cropped junk-piles, they project a suffocating sense of excess.

These projects draw off the power of traditional photography as a force for social change and a way to reveal otherwise unseen realities. But photography now is different than it's ever been — pictures are everywhere, taken by everyone. For many artists working with contemporary photographic practices, the point is not to make good images, but to reflect on the systemic conditions under which images get made. And

more and more, those systems are deeply corporate systems.

There are Mishka Henner's photos, which frame the hidden (read: classified) chunks of Google satellite maps as city-eating abstractions. And there's Oliver Laric, with videos that use carefully chosen bits of meme-y detritus to poeticize the hand-me-down nature of Western culture itself. These works raise questions about the limits of online information, but they also (somewhat resignedly) seem to have been created within those very limits. Similarly, the works by Hirschhorn, Burns and Mroué (as well as Andrea Longacre-White and Roy Arden) wouldn't exist without Google's data-mining networks or Apple's sweatshop-produced gadgets. In Steyerl's *Abstract*, she quietly videotapes the headquarters of weapons manufacturer Lockheed Martin as a sort of soundless protest against war profiteering and industry run amok. And she uses an iPhone to do it.

Upstairs, between Hirschhorn's mutilated bodies and Mendel's flooded homes, we find Shimpei Takeda's haunting *Trace* photos. These appear at first as gentle star-scapes, with glowing dots peering out of empty grey fields, but they're actually a trenchant document of their own: the result of putting radioactive Japanese soil (in the wake of Fukushima) directly onto photographic paper. Like Mroué's blurred gunmen, Henner's redacted blobs and even Burns' censor-free subterfuge, it's an artist finding a way into present-day horrors, emerging with something beautiful and inviting us to join. It may all be frightening, it may be painful, but it deserves to be seen.

— MIKE NEWTON



Mishka Henner, *Unknown Site, Noordwijk aan Zee, South Holland*, 2011. Courtesy the artist.

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FRI JULY 19 • 7PM • FREE
READING: SACCHI GREEN
"WILD GIRLS, WILD NIGHTS:
TRUE LESBIAN SEX STORIES"
There are the fabled urban
myths of lesbians who fill up a
U-Haul on the second date and
lead sweetly romantic lives of
cocoa and comfy slippers. These
are NOT those stories- these
are wild women with dirty minds,
untamed tongues, and even the
occasional cuff or clamp.

WED JULY 24TH • 7PM • FREE
PRESENTATION: BEFORE
THERE IS NOWHERE TO
STAND PALESTINE/ISRAEL
— POETS RESPOND TO THE
STRUGGLE

In reaction to the violence of
Israel's Operation Cast Lead
against Gaza in 2008/09, Joan
Dobbie and her niece Grace
Beeler, descendants of Holocaust
survivors, issued a call for
poems by writers of Palestinian
or Jewish heritage. They will
present what they found.

FRI AUG 9 • 5PM • FREE
PRISONER LETTER WRITING
GROUP

"The communication between
two humans concerning their
hopes, ideas and their plights
is what allows them to bond in
resistance against a system
that affects everyone in many
different ways," wrote Colorado
prisoner Rachel Galindo. Join a
new Bluestockings-based group
that writes to prisoners.

Hardhats for Peace

Hardhats, Hippies, and Hawks: The Vietnam Antiwar Movement as Myth and Memory
BY PENNY LEWIS
CORNELL U. PRESS, 2013

A lot of books get published. Some are worth reading. Occasionally one comes along that is so complete, so thoughtful and so well-argued that not only does it move the discussion, it closes it. In *Hardhats, Hippies, and Hawks: The Vietnam Antiwar Movement as Myth and Memory*, City University of New York sociologist and labor educator Penny Lewis does that to a reigning myth — that the mass movement against the United States' war in Southeast Asia comprised mainly spoiled college kids, and that the true, authentic blue-collar Americans backed the war with brio. That's a slick line to propagate. Not only does an image like that of construction workers attacking protesters (as famously occurred on Wall Street in May 1970) justify foreign interventions and military spending, it stigmatizes dissenters as illegitimate and alien to the body politic. That grossly distorts real working class sentiment or the class composition of protesters, all to divide critics themselves.

Slick as it was, the line was not



HELL NO: A Vietnam veteran throws back his Bronze Star at a 1971 antiwar protest on the steps of Capitol Hill.

true, says Lewis, whose work in this remarkably readable and textured analysis shows us the past isn't so much remembered as "reconstructed," in schools, by the media and elsewhere. Even contemporary polls by Gallup showed that the greater one's education, the more likely one was to support the Vietnam War. That is the reverse of the urban myth that blue-collar families were the war's key defenders and that a privileged and ungrateful elite — what neoconservatives would soon name a "new class" — was responsible for defeat in the field. It's an old trope, that wars are lost not through military blunders,

or because they were undertaken for the worst possible reasons, or because the domestic effects from an indefensible and bankrupting military adventure estrange growing numbers of people, but because of a "stab in the back" by a willful and disloyal minority.

In fact, as Lewis demonstrates, the U.S. drive to stabilize what quickly became a series of military dictatorships in South Vietnam

was defeated through the resistance of the Vietnamese and the disintegration of a near-mutinous U.S. army in the field. As for the antiwar movement at home, Lewis calculates that some tens of millions of Americans took part at its height, with the majority of Americans opposing the war. If the movement began on elite campuses and with the help of traditional pacifist and left organizations, Lewis demonstrates how it quickly grew to encompass communities of color, including civil rights organizations aghast at the domestic cost of the war, parents with a real expectation of losing sons in a pointless slaughter,

ter, mid-level trade union officials and rank-and-file union members bucking their war-abetting union leaders, and returning troops — typically with no more than a high-school diploma or GED — very publicly discarding their medals in antiwar mobilizations while helping build the GI coffeehouse efforts. And with the draft swelling resisters' ranks, the now grounded multi-class movement changed a bipartisan consensus among Washington policy-makers that "rolling back communism" and "defending freedom" were both fair statements of war aims, let alone real possibilities. Communism would within a generation be rolled back, but by the tenacity of a then ascending global capital, not by the U.S. military.

Meanwhile, the antiwar movement never transcended its own limitations. Once the body bags stopped flowing home and the draft ended in 1973, the movement — built on the broadest possible agreement on just one issue (Bring the Troops Home Now!) and never really incorporating the latent critique of imperialism, let alone opposition to capitalism — could not grow into an radical force capable of challenging the U.S. class system itself. It did spark radicalism among erstwhile liberals (like me) and a real effort to organize working people as anti-capitalists at home, where those of us who began purely as war critics and activists grew into radicals of one stripe or another in unions, community

organizations and academia. If anything, the meme propagated by some leftists that workers were big backers of imperialism backfired with many of the most dedicated campus antiwar activists, setting the stage for much of the working class organizing that former student radicals did during the 1970s. In myriad industrial cities we found — surprise! — young workers not that different from us, just having different life chances.

Lewis does much more than just debunk a pernicious myth with her multifaceted and complete analysis. Her effort to complete an exhaustively detailed analysis of a huge movement — one that never received the sort of scholarly attention given to other key upsurges of the 1960s, including the Civil Rights movement — is commendably aimed at confounding what she calls "a faulty memory frame" while forging a true "counter-memory." Thanks to scholars like Lewis, history isn't always written by the winners.

— MICHAEL HIRSCH

Michael Hirsch, the first in his family to attend college, was a campus antiwar leader, a college professor in Boston as long as he could stand it, then a steelworker in Indiana until the mass layoffs of the early 1980s. Since 1985, he has worked as a labor editor and writer for three New York-based labor unions, as well as a contributor to numerous publications.

A Bumper Crop of New Books on the UFW

Lettuce Wars: Ten Years of Work and Struggle in the Fields of California
BY BRUCE NEUBERGER
MONTHLY REVIEW PRESS, 2013

Trampling Out the Vintage: Cesar Chavez and the Two Souls of the United Farm Workers
BY FRANK BARDAKE
VERSO, 2011

The Union of Their Dreams
BY MIRIAM PAWEL
BLOOMSBURY PRESS, 2009

When Cesar Chavez died in 1993, he was a cultural icon and progressive hero. Cast into poverty at a young age, he worked the fields as a youth before he went on to fuse his brand of Catholicism and grassroots organizing into the United Farm Workers, a union that sought to raise

his Mexican farm laborer base out of poverty and into power. Chavez built a fighting union from the ground up — *Si se puede!* ("Yes we can!") was its battle cry — but by the time of his death he left an organization gutted of its farm worker base, purged of its organizing core and tattered from relentless grower assaults.

Over the past few years a crop of books has reassessed the UFW and its leader. Previous works on the UFW tended towards hagiography, but the union is decades removed from being a force in the fields and newer scholarship seeks to understand what happened. *Lettuce Wars* by Bruce Neuburger is the most recent addition and compliments *Trampling Out the Vintage*, possibly the definitive work on the UFW.

Both Neuburger and *Trampling Out the Vintage* author Frank Bardake come from the '60s New Left antiwar, civil rights and campus free speech movements. Both also worked multiple years in the vegetable fields, stooped over alongside a largely Latino workforce, and both books contain vignettes of workers and their lives, language and struggles. Where *Lettuce Wars* is a lively memoir, *Trampling Out the Vintage*

is a densely packed comprehensive history.

RABBLE ROUSER

Lettuce Wars reads like a troublemaker's handbook because Neuburger was a rabble-rouser. Neuburger annoyed anti-communist UFW officials by espousing radical politics that harkened to China's Cultural Revolution. Neuburger was also accused of arson (charges dropped), pursued by Mexican and American police and kicked out of a martyred farm worker's funeral. (I recently met him; he's an affable ESL instructor in San Francisco). While Neuburger traces the arc of the UFW competently, he was never close to the union's core leadership.

Bardake follows both major and minor events and political currents within the farm worker movement that provide mostly unflattering portraits of Chavez (and to a lesser extent, Dolores Huerta). Bardake credits Chavez with winning better living conditions for farm workers and utilizing innovative techniques to build public support for consumer boycotts of California lettuce and table grapes. But it is clear Bardake believes the organizing heft rested with other UFW leaders. Internal

union debate raged on such topics as the effectiveness of boycotts vs. strikes and a volunteer vs. paid staff.

In Chavez, Bardake finds a leader who mastered interpersonal communication but was wary of bombastic public speaking, opened the union to boycott volunteers but directed numerous purges, inspired Chicano farm workers to challenge the racist system that kept them poor but endorsed crackdowns of "illegal" Mexican immigrants, encouraged freedom of expression through farm worker theater and a newspaper but jettisoned both when they ran afoul of his script for the movement.

One of the most disturbing practices that Bardake chronicles is the UFW's pressuring staff to participate in the cultist Synanon's attack therapy. Chavez utilized Synanon's emphasis on participants revealing their innermost weaknesses to cow staffers and purge "assholes."

CESAR CHAVEZ'S SHADOW

Getting out from under Chavez's shadow proved nearly impossible for the UFW's core and most left as a result of purges and personal clashes with Chavez. *The Union of Their Dreams* by Miriam Pawel

tells the story of the UFW by reconstructing the personal experiences of eight of the union's leading figures. It confirms, albeit in smaller doses, the larger themes in *Lettuce Wars* and *Trampling Out the Vintage*, of a dynamic union made powerful but also crippled by charismatic leadership.

Chavez's purges often targeted perceived threats to his leadership. In 1976 Chavez shuttered the farm workers' newspaper *El Malcriado*. He aimed his wrath at the paper's new editor, Joe Smith, citing minor editorial disagreements. Chavez's real target was Smith's supervisor and veteran national boycott director Nick Jones. Both left the union and in the process Chavez threw out the baby out with the bath water, destroying the UFW's boycott apparatus and vibrant newspaper. *The Union of Their Dreams* documents Smith's appeal of his dismissal, "My character has been defamed and slandered. I am accused of...betraying the leadership [and] my friends.. and being party to conspiracy to destroy this union...If we are allowed to slander and slur one another in private without being accountable...

Continued on next page

Exhilarating Defiance

A beat-up DiPinto guitar shines stage right and blares out, roaring, into the hall. Thrumming, churning drums and bass pummel the roar forward. Ringing vocals of defiance and disapproval ride over it all. This was Brooklyn-based band TinVulva opening the June 15 benefit show for Dyke March, which was held at the end of June. True to its idols



Kat Wong

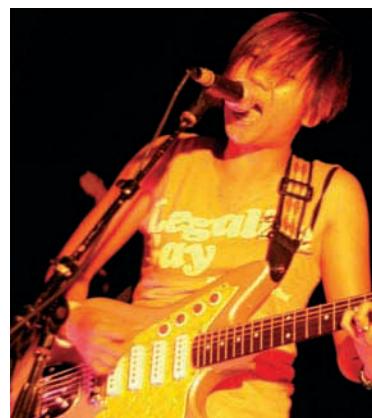
— mainly Sleater-Kinney, Le Tigre, and acts they overlap with — the band reconciles raw power with the grace of subtly-crafted, layered guitar and drum parts. It's exhilarating stuff.

Singer-guitarist Sarah Soller-Mihlek's timbre is startlingly akin to that of Corin Tucker of S-K, but there's also a hint of the strident elasticity of Theo Kogan from The Lunachicks. Soller-Mihlek also coaxes a number of sounds out of the old axe, from grungy mud to silk threads and rusty screws, and some of the "clean" guitar passages evoke S-K's Danelectros. She switches a good deal between singing and talk-singing, highly effective in each without any letup in momentum.

Kat Wong takes more or less the subliminal approach in holding down the bass end, rarely gurgling or snapping, always guiding

the chord progression firmly along and blending right in with Soller-Mihlek for some of the vocals. She also carries fairly long solo passages without running out of steam, a tricky test that not all bassists can pass.

Vanessa Rondon stamps the rhythm into place with unfailing thunder (along with yet more vocals), and if you really listen to the odd beats, with their occasional two-bar tags and lopped-off quarter-notes, you can hear subtle, intelligent choices that make those beats sound perfectly natural and unobtrusive. Rondon also proves that even the highly-technical



Sarah Soller-Mihlek

drummers can beat the living crap out of their equipment: a forty- or fifty-degree edge of each crash cymbal is so cracked it looks like a map of Antarctica — but, of course, this only boosts her punk bona fides.

The announcement of songs is bracingly direct — not coy or self-conscious or overwrought. This is standard, of course, for the aesthetic heirs of Kathleen Hanna and L7 (who, in TinVulva's case, actually wrote a song called "What Would Kathleen Do?"). Indeed, the group may feel they owe it to the fans. "This is about shitty music on the radio," Soller declares evenly, and off they go. "This is about the riot

grrrl scene and how we didn't feel welcome in it," she proclaims matter-of-factly, and they're off again (this time rhyming "riot grrrl" with someone's dismissive injunction to "Be quiet, girl!"). You know there's a pretty rich, detailed, even painful story behind everything, but the Ramones-like economy of presentation couches the deceptively ornate material perfectly, just as a severe black leather jacket provides the backdrop for a dozen snarky and colorful political buttons.

This show, it should be noted, pulled in a good crowd — at least as the performance went on. Fickle as audiences are, and warm and inviting as the sun was on June 15, TinVulva was faced with a fairly small trickle at 1:00 in the afternoon, though it grew as they played. They do seem to enjoy a healthy following in New York, judging by their Facebook likes and



PHOTOS: DAVID MEADOW

videos of their shows. No matter — the band projected the unflappable poise and confidence of a seasoned, well-rehearsed act, and played just as though the club were already jammed with rabid fans pumping their fists in the air to match the latex-gloved fist, all ready to become a verb, on the show's poster.

— DAVID MEADOW

Bumper Crop

Continued from previous page

our potential for self-destruction is unlimited and uncontrollable."

Through the rise and fall of the UFW, the union faced fierce opposition from growers who presided over a racialized caste system that insulated them from their workers. Growers attempted to head off UFW militancy by signing sweetheart contracts with Teamster locals and then turning to the Teamsters to enforce labor peace if workers continued to agitate. *Trampling Out the Vintage* is chock-full of grower-cozy Teamster gangsterism and thuggish picket line brawls.

UFW VS. THE TEAMSTERS

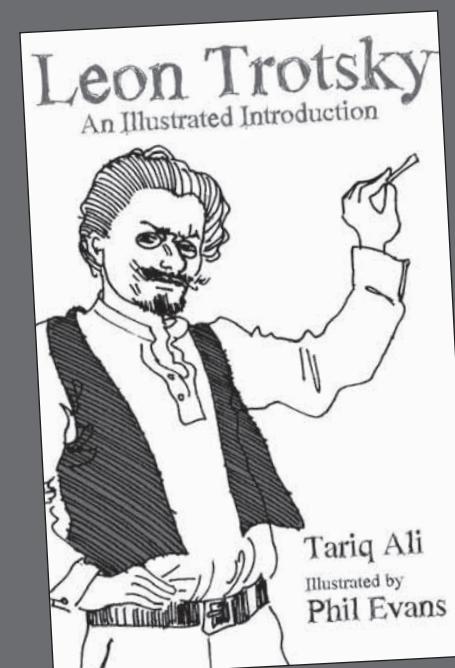
With their bloated salaries and Mafia ties, the Teamsters leadership stood in stark contrast to the publicly pious and austere Chavez. The UFW eventually dislodged the Teamsters from the fields, but not until after dozens of union elections where the UFW saw mixed results — the Teamsters had to negotiate contracts that were close to UFW's bargaining power or workers would abandon them.

Multiple forces converged to break the UFW, including Chavez's siege mentality. In 1981, he moved to smash worker influence over the union's board in order to maintain his absolute power over the UFW, but also defanged the union's last defense — its militant worker

leadership. While reading these reassessments of Chavez and his union another idea comes forth — perhaps Chavez was not as different from his Teamster foils in the fields. Chavez doled out numerous positions in the union and its non-profit arms to family members. Today the UFW represents 6,000 members; in the 1970s it was 50,000 strong — though many unions have experienced similar declines, if not death. Meanwhile, California agribusiness booms with gross revenues routinely near \$40 billion a year employing over 400,000 mostly Mexican farm workers.

— BENNETT BAUMER

Amusing, well researched, and surprisingly sophisticated, *Leon Trotsky: An Illustrated Introduction* is the perfect primer on the life and thought of the great leader and chronicler of the Russian Revolution.



With sympathy and humor, Tariq Ali and Phil Evans trace his political career, from prison to the pinnacle of revolutionary power, to his eventual exile and murder by Stalin.

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